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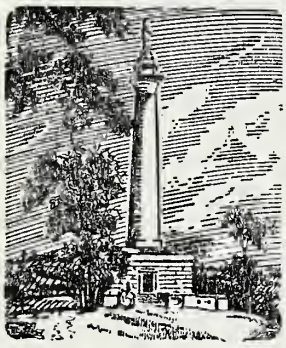

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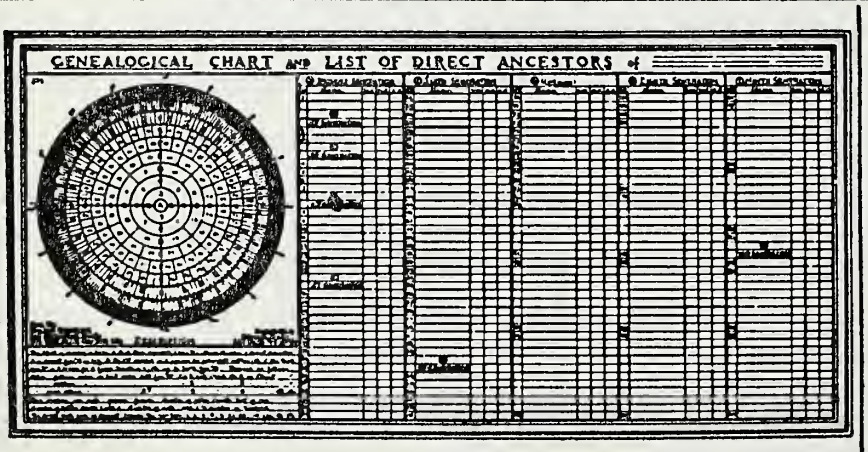

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLV MARCH, 1950 Number 1

ALLEN PINKERTON AND THE BALTIMORE "ASSASSINATION" PLOT AGAINST LINCOLN

By Edward Stanley Lanis

IN the middle years of the nineteenth century American business began to expand at an accelerated speed. Along with business—almost as a variant aspect of American energy—crime expanded, too. The combined factors of growing business and increasing crime called into existence a new profession and a new institution: the private detective and the detective agency. A pioneer in the new profession was Chicago's Allan Pinkerton—destined to become the country's most famous detective and founder of an agency which, for many years, led all the rest.

In the Chicago region railroad tycoons, who were experiencing repeated attacks upon their property by organized gangs of robbers and thieves, received little assistance from the police in solving this serious problem. The small and over-taxed forces of city and

county police were political appointees, and frequently, too, they were corrupt. Moreover, under the American system of law enforcement all peace officers confined their duties to definite political districts, and as a result, these officials had little authority either to investigate crime or to pursue and arrest criminals outright.

To cope with this curious situation officials of Chicago's leading railroads gave financial support to Pinkerton to organize a private police and detective force which would give them the special attention and protection they needed. Pinkerton's agency—which was a private business enterprise—was an immediate success. Within a few years it became so successful that Pinkerton expanded its operations to include renting out uniformed watchmen, guards, and private policemen to bankers, insurance and express company executives, and merchants. By 1861 Allan Pinkerton had gained respectful local recognition as a protector of American business, but the event which elevated him to national fame was Abraham Lincoln's "midnight ride" to his first inaugural. In the crucial days preceding Lincoln's inaugural of 1861, Pinkerton, in order to gain publicity for himself and his enterprising agency, exaggerated the danger that Lincoln was about to be assassinated in Baltimore.

After the November elections of 1860, it was widely rumored that southern men were secretly plotting to prevent the inauguration of the newly elected Republican President, to seize Washington, and to make it the future capital of a southern republic.[1] One of the several persons who was deeply alarmed by these ugly rumors was Samuel M. Felton, Unionist president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad. Like the Northern Central Railroad, which operated from Harrisburg to Baltimore, Felton's line joined the free and slave states of Pennsylvania and Maryland and was a vital route for conveying troops, passengers, and freight to Washington. Felton feared that if secessionists ever seized control of Maryland they would cut the

[1] In January, 1861, Congress appointed a Select Committee of Five to investigate whether or not any secret organization hostile to the United States Government existed in the District of Columbia. When the Committee made its report on February 14, it said that ". . . the evidence produced . . . does not prove the existence of a secret organization here or elsewhere hostile to the government. . . ." See *Alleged Hostile Organization against the Government within the District of Columbia* (36th Congress, 2d session, Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, no. 79, vol. 2, ser. 1105, Washington, 1861), p. 2.

lines north of Baltimore and thereby isolate Washington from the North. He also feared that if Maryland followed South Carolina and other southern states in seceding from the Union, then his company's rails, bridges, and ferry boats would suffer at the hands of the secessionists.[2]

About the middle of January, 1861, after an unsuccessful attempt to obtain federal troops to police his railroad, Felton summoned Allan Pinkerton to his aid. The detective arrived in Philadelphia, made an investigation, and concluded that there was no real reason for the railroad executive to be alarmed. But Felton was not reassured and urged the detective to take the case. Pinkerton promised that upon his return to Chicago he would consider the matter fully.[3]

A few days after Pinkerton had returned to his office, he received another appeal from the frightened Felton. But, still unconvinced that he could make any capital of the situation in Maryland, Pinkerton told Felton on January 27 that he saw no reason to return East. When, however, three days later Felton renewed his pleas—by telegram—that Pinkerton come to Philadelphia to ferret out " plots and plans," Pinkerton came to the conclusion that there might be possibilities in the excitement in Maryland and that he should accept Felton's proposal to aid the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.

On February 1, two days after receiving another telegram from Felton, Allan Pinkerton, with a force of eight men and one woman, left his Chicago office. After arriving in Philadelphia and consulting with Felton, the detective chief dispersed his operatives at important points along the railroad and established his secret headquarters at Baltimore. For the time being, Pinkerton became " John H. Hutchinson," a stock broker.

It took the operatives but a short time to discover that Maryland was in a state of great excitement, that there were numerous rumors of plots to seize Washington, and that there were still other rumors of a conspiracy to prevent the inaugural of Abraham

[2] Allan Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion* (Chicago, 1883), p. 47; William Schouler, *A History of Massachusetts in the Civil War* (2 vols., Boston, 1868-1871), I, p. 59; and Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America* (3 vols., Phila. and Hartford, 1866-1868), III, p. 565.

[3] Allan Pinkerton, *History and Evidence of the Passage of Abraham Lincoln from Harrisburg, Pa., to Washington, D. C., on the 22d and 23d of February, 1861* (New York, 1906), p. 8. (Hereafter this source will be cited as *History and Evidence. . . .*)

Lincoln. The operatives, however, even after continuing to frequent hotels, saloons, and brothels, could discover no definite plots to destroy Felton's railroad.[4] Having found, then, no need to save the railroad, Pinkerton—a man with a great imagination—set out to find a need to save something else, and thus attract attention to Felton, to Felton's railroad, to himself, and to his agency.[5] To do this, he decided to make use of the existing rumors that the presidential inauguration might be prevented. For many days past, newspapers had publicized Lincoln's plans for his journey to Washington, and their stories provided the germ of Pinkerton's idea. The President-Elect was due to leave Springfield, Illinois, by train on February 11, to proceed east to Cincinnati, Columbus, Buffalo, and New York, and then to turn south through Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Baltimore to Washington.

The numerous railroad companies which operated between the West and the East were all out to " capture " Lincoln and to use him for their advertising salesman—exactly as Pinkerton himself intended.[6] Lincoln's original purpose was to take the shortest route to the capital city; when this plan was subsequently changed, Mayor James G. Berret of Washington inquired of John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, whether any threats made against his line had caused Lincoln to change routes. Garrett replied that rumors of such threats were false and that they were ". . . the simple inventions of those who are

[4] Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln; from His Birth to His Inauguration as President* (Boston, 1872), p. 514.

[5] The writer accepts Lamon's statement that Pinkerton, " Being intensely ambitious to shine in the professional way, and something of a politician besides, it struck him that it would be a particularly fine thing to discover a dreadful plot to assassinate the President elect; and he discovered it accordingly." See *ibid.*, p. 512. Although Chauncey F. Black was the ghost writer of this volume, Lamon made the " midnight ride " with Lincoln and Pinkerton and later managed to obtain Pinkerton's evidence of the plot against Lincoln. Furthermore, Pinkerton wrote an account of the ride and gave it to William H. Herndon with the understanding that all statements relating to Lamon be kept secret. This letter, written in 1866, was not revealed until 1913. See " Allan Pinkerton's Unpublished Story of the First Attempt on the Life of Abraham Lincoln," *The American Magazine,* LXXV (Feb., 1913), 17-22. However, recently discovered evidence reveals that Lamon, who for ten years had believed in the Baltimore plot, had a personal grudge against Pinkerton, and it may be for this reason that he turned against the detective. Consult Norma B. Cuthbert, ed., *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot* (San Marino, Calif., 1949), pp. 86-87. This volume is a collection of Pinkerton records and related papers of this case.

[6] See the numerous articles in contemporary newspapers from February 11 to 22, 1861, describing to what lengths railroad officials had gone and what facilities they had provided to make Lincoln's trip as comfortable as possible.

agents in the West for other lines, and are set on foot more with a hope of interfering with the trade and travel on the shortest route to the seaboard than with any desire to promote the safety and comfort of the President elect." [7]

Felton, anticipating that Lincoln would use the regular route from New York to Washington, was perturbed to learn that he would ride directly from Harrisburg to Baltimore over the Northern Central route, and therefore, would by-pass the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore line. Felton was perturbed not only because he would lose an excellent opportunity to advertise his own railroad, but also because he and John Gittings, president of the Northern Central, were in direct competition with each other and were fighting to obtain control of the traffic between the North and Washington, D. C.[8]

There was, however, a way out. If it could be shown that danger lurked along the Northern Central route, it might be possible to persuade Lincoln to change his plans. Felton's employee, Allan Pinkerton, therefore, set his agents " looking " for assassination plots.

Mingling with the " rough " elements of Baltimore in the barroom of Barnum's Hotel, Pinkerton's men spied a noisy Italian barber by name of Cypriano Ferrandini. Ferrandini operated a shop in the hotel and frequented the saloon in his spare time. Like many other men about him, he drank and talked much and made swelling speeches in favor of the South, much to the delight of his southern-sympathizing customers. Pinkerton himself hastened to meet this man, to shake his hand, to talk to him, to drink with him, and to hear him ranting.[9] Then returning to his head-

[7] New York *World*, Feb. 7, 1861.

[8] William Stearns, one of Felton's own officials, admitted: " I felt very solicitous for the safety of Mr. Lincoln; but there was a delicacy with me in relation to the matter, in regard to the action to be taken, inasmuch as the programme of the route of Mr. Lincoln to Washington was published as via Northern Central Railroad, from Harrisburg to Baltimore, and that road was considered, to some extent, as a competing road to our road from North to South." See Stearns' statement in Pinkerton, *History and Evidence . . .*, p. 25.

[9] Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion*, p. 65. Ferrandini, who was also a leader of a small drill company of volunteers, testified before the Select Committee of Five that the purpose of the organization was to prevent northern volunteer companies from passing through Maryland. He stated that it was to prevent " a northern invasion." For his complete testimony see *Alleged Hostile Organization against the Government within the District of Columbia*, pp. 132-139. Ferrandini appeared before the Committee on February 5, while Pinkerton and his agents already had arrived on the scene.

quarters, the detective put the name of Ferrandini in his reports as the leader of a diabolical conspiracy to murder Lincoln.

When the Indianapolis and Cincinnati train bearing Lincoln and his party arrived in Cincinnati, Pinkerton made his first contact with the group. He sent a message to an acquaintance of his, Norman B. Judd, who was a close friend of Lincoln and a member of the presidential party, warning him that there was a plot on foot to assassinate Lincoln in Baltimore. Pinkerton added that he had not yet obtained the details, but promised that another letter would be forthcoming soon. True to his word, he sent another letter to Judd, who received it at Buffalo. This time he said that " the evidence was accumulating " and repeated the request made in his first letter that the matter be kept secret. Judd did so.

During the afternoon of February 21, Lincoln arrived in Philadelphia, where he and his party were scheduled to remain for one day before going on to Harrisburg. As the procession was moving from the railroad station through streets lined with thousands of spectators, a man broke through the police lines, handed Judd a slip of paper, and then vanished in the crowd. Upon opening the mysterious note, Judd read: " St. Louis Hotel—ask for J. H. Hutchinson."

With the presidential party established at the Continental Hotel, Judd hurried to see the mysterious stranger. At the hotel Pinkerton and Felton were in a private room waiting for Lincoln's friend, and after brief introductions, Pinkerton produced the evidence which he had gathered to convince Judd that Lincoln's life was in great peril.[10]

Going through the papers and pausing now and then to ask questions, Judd learned the details of the conspiracy uncovered by Pinkerton's agents. The conspirators knew, as did everyone else, that Lincoln would arrive at approximately noon on Saturday, February 23, at Baltimore's Calvert Street station of the Northern Central, and that in order to board a train for Washington, he would need to change stations. Then, according to the story, while Lincoln's carriage was passing through the narrow streets, some of the conspirators would create a disturbance to distract the

[10] Lamon stated: " These documents are neither edifying nor useful: they prove nothing but the baseness of the vocation which gave them existence." See Lamon, *The Life of Lincoln*, p. 513. To determine whether these documents are edifying or useful, let the reader examine them in Miss Cuthbert's *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot*, pp. 19-106.

attention of the small detail of police. Other conspirators would then dash out of the crowd to Lincoln's side, either shoot or stab him, and make their escape. The death of Lincoln would be the signal for all secessionists to rise in arms, cut the telegraph lines, and tear up the railroad tracks leading to the North to prevent the shipment of troops to Washington.[11]

Pinkerton pointed out that the many rumors were indications that something was bound to happen to Lincoln. More than that, only a few hours ago he himself had demonstrated to Judd that a person could reach Lincoln's side. If it could be done in Philadelphia it could likewise be done—and even more readily—in Baltimore where the police were allegedly sympathetic to secessionists.

Impressed by the reports and these arguments, Judd agreed that Lincoln's life was in great danger and that he should be warned. He proposed that Pinkerton should immediately accompany him to the Continental Hotel with the papers and submit the facts to Lincoln. Both men departed immediately. Before entering his room at the hotel, Judd sent an urgent message to Lincoln requesting his presence, and when he arrived, Pinkerton presented his evidence and related substantially the same story which he had just told Judd.

Throughout Pinkerton's recital, Lincoln listened attentively and asked many questions, but he was not impressed by the detective's statements.[12] As a lawyer Lincoln was well acquainted with the collection and the presentation of evidence. He remained calm and refused to believe Pinkerton's tale. He, however, did inquire what Pinkerton proposed to do in the event his warning should be heeded. The detective chief answered that he had a " counterplot " to thwart the Baltimore conspirators. He proposed that Lincoln drop his remaining engagements and steal a march on his enemies by proceeding at once to Washington over the well guarded Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad. But Lincoln immediately rejected the proposal, feeling it ridiculous and saying that he had promises to fulfill on the following day. With that explanation he left the room.[13]

[11] Pinkerton, *The Spy of the Rebellion*, p. 72. The details of the assassination plot as written up by Pinkerton may be found in *ibid.*, pp. 74-80.

[12] Judd's statement in Pinkerton, *History and Evidence* . . . , p. 19.

[13] Within an hour after leaving Pinkerton and Judd, Lincoln encountered Senator William H. Seward's son, Frederick, who had arrived only recently from Washing-

The following day, after raising the stars and stripes over Independence Hall, Lincoln and his party departed for Harrisburg. There he appeared before the State Legislature and attended an early evening banquet given by Governor Andrew G. Curtin. By now Lincoln's friends had learned about the alleged plot and they, too, attempted to persuade him to change his routes. But Lincoln asked, "What would the nation think of its President stealing into the Capital like a thief in the night?" [14] Opinion, however, was unanimous that the question was not one for Lincoln to decide. His advisers argued that since he was the newly elected head of state, he should yield to the counsel of those around him. Finally, Lincoln gave up his fight and agreed to permit his friends to determine his course of action.

One argument used to exert pressure on Lincoln was the change of railroad stations in Baltimore. If Lincoln arrived at the Northern Central station, he would need to go by carriage to board a train for Washington, but if he arrived at the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore depot, he need not leave his coach car. Felton had recently installed a new service with horses drawing the railroad coaches over tracks from his depot to the Washington Branch terminal of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

At approximately six o'clock in the evening, Lincoln, who was in no state of alarm or fear, and Ward H. Lamon, a member of the presidential party whom Lincoln chose to accompany him, secretly boarded a special train to make the return trip to Philadelphia.[15] As soon as the two men had departed, Judd hurried to the American Telegraph office and dispatched a coded message to Pinkerton in Philadelphia that his plan had been accepted and that the special train had departed from Harrisburg. Pinkerton,

ton with information from his father and others who sought to convince Lincoln that his life was in danger. Lincoln, thus, heard two stories which were allegedly derived from two separate sources and independent of each other, but if Lincoln did accept this as a fact, he still did not believe in the contents of either one of them. See John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (10 vols., N. Y., 1890), III, p. 303. The mysterious "Public Man" wrote in his diary on February 24, 1861: "I do not believe one word of the cock-and-bull story of the Italian assassins, which Mr. Seward told me to-day had been communicated to Mr. Lincoln as coming from General Scott . . . ." He added that Seward himself did not believe one word of it. "The Diary of a Public Man," *North American Review*, CXXIX (Sept., 1879), 259-260.

[14] Alexander K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times* (4th ed., Phila., 1892), p. 52.

[15] Curtin's statement in Pinkerton, *History and Evidence* . . . , p. 37.

now exultant, prepared to meet Lincoln and Lamon at West Philadelphia.

At the same moment, back in Harrisburg, a line expert of the American Telegraph Company went beyond the limits of the city and grounded a competing company's telegraph wires leading from there to Baltimore, under the Pinkertonian pretext of keeping spies in Harrisburg from warning conspirators in Baltimore. The blocked line was owned and operated by the Northern Central Railroad—the same concern which was giving so much trouble to the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.[16] Its president, John Gittings, had two enemies: one was Samuel Felton and the other was E. S. Sanford—president of the American Telegraph Company. Felton and Sanford found an excellent opportunity to injure their common competitor.

When Lincoln and Lamon arrived in West Philadelphia, Pinkerton had a carriage waiting to meet them. Felton, however, had not arranged for a special train to take Lincoln from Philadelphia to Baltimore, which was the terminus of his line; so they waited an hour before the regular night train arrived. Finally, when the train did arrive and Lincoln and Lamon had boarded a sleeping car, Pinkerton joined the two men to see his final plans materialize.

When the train got to Baltimore, the horses of Felton's new service slowly drew Lincoln's sleeping car through the dark streets to the Washington Branch depot. At six o'clock on Saturday morning of February 23, 1861, Lincoln arrived in Washington without fanfare of crowds, cheers, and cannon that had greeted him in northern cities.

When Lincoln's presence in Washington became known, rumormongers took up the story. Many journalists, both in the North and South, ridiculed Lincoln's act while others alleged

[16] Andrew Wynne, the man who grounded the wires, stated that H. E. Thayer, manager of the Philadelphia office, ". . . asked me if I had any objections to fix the wires of another company so as to prevent any communications passing over them. I answered I would not in some cases. Mr. Thayer then stated that the life of President Lincoln was in great danger, and that he (Mr. Thayer) wanted some good man he could depend upon to cut the wires between Harrisburg and Baltimore. I replied, under that circumstance I would." Wynne's statement may be found in *ibid.*, p. 41. The reason Pinkerton did not seek the aid of Gittings when he was bringing in so many other men in his plans was probably that he deliberately chose to see Gittings' services disrupted. The writer has been unable to find evidence linking Gittings with secessionism or disloyalty during the Civil War.

that Lincoln had hurried on to Washington to avoid an assassination plot in Baltimore. The editors of the Baltimore *Sun*, however, saw a more significant meaning in Lincoln's " underground railroad " journey. They claimed that it unmasked at last the real purpose of Governor Thomas H. Hicks. The editors charged that Hicks had reported plots to seize the government in order to furnish ". . . a barren, frivolous pretext for concentrating troops at the capital of the nation, and fortifying to an unusual extent the fortresses of Maryland and Virginia." [17]

Subsequent events moved rapidly, and the Pinkerton-Felton affair was soon forgotten, but to the end of his days, Lincoln never believed that he would have been assassinated had he taken the Northern Central route to Baltimore.[18] Moreover, Lincoln came to regard the " midnight ride " ". . . as one of the grave mistakes in his public career," [19] and to regret having listened to and yielded " . . . to the solicitations of a professional spy and of friends too easily alarmed." [20]

In the meantime, Samuel Felton and Allan Pinkerton had largely accomplished their objectives. To publicize his railroad, Felton revealed the part it had played in bringing Lincoln to Washington. On February 25, the editors of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* announced that " Such was the determination of the officers of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, that nothing should be done to endanger the safety of . . . Mr. Lincoln . . . that . . . persons were sworn in to watch the bridges. . . ." While Felton did not succeed in getting troops to guard his property, nevertheless, federal arms in Washington, D. C., Maryland, and Virginia made him breathe a little easier. In fact, he felt his position was so secure that he dismissed Pinkerton and his staff soon after Lincoln's inaugural.

For various reasons, Pinkerton did not immediately seek full public notice for his work, but he did advertise his agency privately.[21] He saw to it that influential men, among them Judd,

[17] Feb. 26, 1861.

[18] Isaac N. Arnold, *The History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of Slavery* (Chicago, 1866), p. 171.

[19] Alexander K. McClure, " The Night at Harrisburg. A Reminiscence of Lincoln's Journey to Washington in 1861," *McClure's Magazine*, V (June, 1895), 96.

[20] Lamon, *The Life of Lincoln*, pp. 526-527. But Lincoln had ". . . thought it wise to run no risk, where no risk was necessary." See Arnold, *History of Lincoln*, p. 171.

[21] Most newspapers gave credit to a " E. J. Allen "—another alias of Pinkerton—

LINCOLN'S PASSAGE THROUGH BALTIMORE: A CONTEMPORARY COMMENT.

One of a series of pro-Southern cartoons drawn by Dr. Adalbert J. Volck of Baltimore and surreptitiously published under the pseudonym, V. Blada.

Lamon, and William H. Seward—men close to the President—knew of and were impressed by his role in conducting Lincoln safely to Washington. What was more, he was available for hire, and he soon had a full share of Civil War government business.[22]

While Pinkerton and his agency were quietly basking in their glory, Ferrandini, the poor Italian barber, went unnoticed about his trade, and was never molested for any crime.[23] During the Civil War when Mayor George Brown, Marshal George B. Kane, several newspaper editors—all from Baltimore—and members of the Maryland legislature were being locked up in federal prisons on charges of disloyalty to the Union, Ferrandini remained a free man. That these men were arrested and the barber left free was all the more remarkable because Allan Pinkerton and his agency, now working for both the State and War Departments, had assited authorities in rounding up suspected traitors but had left the barber alone.[24] Even after Lincoln had been assassinated and General La Fayette C. Baker was running down every clue and offering large rewards, Pinkerton did not make known to him the knowledge he had of Ferrandini's connections with the alleged earlier assassination plot—information which might have linked John Wilkes Booth with Ferrandini, for Booth was known to have frequented Baltimore.

for safely conducting Lincoln to Washington. The Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *World*, however, published Pinkerton's true name. See the February 27, 1861, editions of both newspapers. The *World* reporter, who did not accept the assassination story, called Pinkerton ". . . a gentleman of Vidocquean repute in the way of thief-taking . . . whose villany eluded all save the Pinkertonean investigations. . . ."

[22] He served as General George B. McClellan's intelligence agent, but Kenneth P. Williams in his recent *Lincoln Finds a General* (2 vols., N. Y., 1949) writes: "On the whole, Pinkerton and his band turned out to be a great asset to Jefferson Davis, on account of the exaggerated reports that they made of the Confederate strength." *Ibid.*, I, p. 129.

[23] The following article, reproduced in part, appeared in the New York *World*, February 27, 1861: "Rumor attributes to Pinkerton the discovery of secret organizations, the members of which, sworn upon their daggers, had taken oath to assassinate the President. An Italian barber wanders vaguely through this shadowy surmise; a leader of the Baltimore carbonari, probably, who wears a slouch hat and gives an easy shave for six cents. This tonsorial person was recently summoned before a secret committee of investigation at Washington; he resigned his membership upon receiving the summons, proceeded to Washington, swore black and blue, returned to Baltimore, and resumed his membership of the conspiratory cabal." If an assassination plot had actually existed in 1861, it appears that authorities—then or later—would have arrested Ferrandini, for he is clearly identified by this article.

[24] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 series, 70 "volumes," 128 books, Washington, 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. V, pp. 195-196; *ibid.*, ser. II, vol. I, p. 688; and Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of the Baltimore Press during the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (June, 1941), 154.

Moreover, to the end of his days, Pinkerton never permitted disinterested parties to examine the papers which persuaded Judd and others to put pressure on Lincoln to flee from a danger largely imaginary.[25] Instead, by continuing to exaggerate this danger, Pinkerton got the publicity he wanted and advertised his business dramatically.[26]

[25] Miss Cuthbert, after examining the relevant documents in the case, concludes in her *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot*: " It is not in anticipation of proving the authenticity of the Baltimore plot that these papers at last are put into print. Whether they throw enough significant light on the question to decide it is a point for Lincoln students to determine." *Ibid.*, p. xxii. It should be noted that Pinkerton's *History and Evidence* . . . is not documentary proof that the plot existed; rather, it is a collection of letters supporting Pinkerton's claim that it was he and not a government detective who conducted Lincoln to his first inaugural.

[26] During the years that followed, Pinkerton was involved in other questionable assassination plots: 1) Col. E. H. Wright stated that before the elections of 1864 he met Pinkerton in Baltimore and learned from him of a plot by McClellan's friends to murder Lincoln. Pinkerton claimed that the conspirators—among whom he charged were Wright—were known and being watched. Because he was McClellan's friend, Pinkerton wished to serve him and said that the plotters " might as well give up the fight." Lincoln, desiring to befriend McClellan and to save him from trouble, had employed him (Pinkerton) in the matter. When McClellan heard this story he treated it as absurd. This assassination story may be found in William S. Myers' *A Study in Personality: General George Brinton McClellan* (N. Y., 1934), pp. 461-462. 2) In 1868 Pinkerton himself was the victim of an attempted assassination, but the man arrested for this crime confessed that Pinkerton, who was ". . . rather fond of sensations in which he figured," had arranged this scheme against his own life. The prisoner, however, soon repudiated his statement and swore that other private detectives in the hire of the United States Secret Service had employed him to murder Pinkerton. For this episode in Pinkerton's career, see *The New York Times*, Aug. 5 and 24, 1869, and the Detroit *Free Press*, Aug. 3, 1869. 3) This case is that of the " Molly Maguires," twenty-two of whom were hanged on charges of murder. J. Walter Coleman, who has made a new and a scholarly study of this famous case in *The Molly Maguire Riots* (Richmond, Va., 1936), pp. 168-169, sums up his investigations with: " The Philadelphia and Reading Company, for example, may have entered into an agreement with Pinkerton officials to produce evidence calculated to convict certain undesirable men for the crimes against capital committed in the region within the ten or fifteen years preceding. If the men who sought assistance from the Pinkertons were innocent, the officials of the latter organization may have acted of their own accord in manufacturing spurious evidence, to enhance their reputations and secure additional clients."

THE EARL OF LOUDOUN AND HORATIO SHARPE, 1757 AND 1758

By James High

The French and Indian War has been the inspiration for a prodigious amount of historical writing. It has been studied as an extension of the European Seven Years' War, as a symptom of British imperialism, as the background for depicting personalities, and as part of the American Revolution. There seems to be rather general agreement that the colonial legislative bodies were reluctant to furnish men and money on English terms. At the beginning of the war, the Duke of Newcastle's ministry with its ideas of Whiggery thought of colonial participation as defensive, and the provincial people were expected to furnish the means for that defense. Newcastle himself was able to think only in terms of thousands. It was not until 1759, when Pitt rose to power, that Parliament was required to disburse millions on the American war. Maryland, as many other colonies, used the early Whigs' frugality as a constitutional lever for forcing concessions from the mother country. The commanders-in-chief found themselves in opposition to what they thought was the obstinacy of the colonials. Some of the governors tried to stand in an intermediate position. Horatio Sharpe, governor of Maryland, illustrates this attitude in his dealings with John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, who arrived in New York July 23, 1756, as the fifth commander of the troops of King George II in the last great struggle for North America.[1]

[1] Published discussion of the French and Indian War started with its inception. Thomas Pownall, successor to William Shirley as governor of Massachusetts when the latter was superseded by Loudoun as commander-in-chief, published *Administration of the Colonies* (London, 1756), in which he recognized the constitutional struggle that was going on in America. Francis Parkman left a classic in his volumes on *Montcalm and Wolfe, A Half Century of Conflict*, and others, *Works*, Frontenac ed. (Boston, 1902), which are still in some respects the most fascinating accounts of the great conflict between France and England. See Stanley McCrory Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven and London, 1933), bibliography, 366 ff. for a select and critical list of works bearing on the period July, 1756, to March, 1758. See also Paul Henry Giddens, "Maryland and the Earl of Loudon [*sic*]," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (1934), 269 ff., and

Pitt was not yet in power when Loudoun arrived in America. His appointment did not meet with the approval of William Pitt, the Great Commoner, champion of American constitutional rights, later to become the 1st Earl of Chatham. Lord Loudoun represented an antithetical point of view: the king's prerogative and aristocratic scorn of colonials. He enforced the order of the Duke of Cumberland, the king's second son in charge of the British army, to rank all provincial field officers below captains in the regular British service. He attempted to force local legislatures to appropriate funds and raise troops. He antagonized several of the assemblies over the issue of quartering troops, which he considered an unquestionable right of the army. He failed in two major military ventures: on the Great Lakes and before Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. He clashed violently with two governors: William Shirley of Massachusetts and Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, both of whom he considered insubordinate.[2] Yet, by the beginning of 1758, many of his officers had come to respect him, and when he was recalled in February he left many friends in America. Lord Loudoun could only have changed his attitude during his year and a half as virtual viceroy of British North America.

Among his papers is a little noticed letter to Governor Sharpe of Maryland.[3] In it he made very clear recognition of the necessity of adopting a policy toward the American colonies completely at variance with the ideas he brought from England. The letter is marked " Private " and dated January 2, 1758, just three days after the order for his recall was issued at Whitehall. It must be remembered that he did not know in January that his successor was already appointed.

" Bibliography on Maryland," *ibid.*, XXXI (1936), 6-16, for items concerning Maryland and the French and Indian War. The most recent and exhaustive study is by Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The Great War for the Empire, the Years of Defeat, 1754-1757* (New York, 1946), vol. VI of the partially completed study of the *British Empire before the American Revolution.* Volume VII, *The Victorious Years, 1758-1763* (New York, 1949) has just appeared. Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven and London, 1940), chapters VI, VII, and VIII is a specific study of the effects of the war in Maryland.

[2] See Pargellis, *op. cit.*; Louis Knott Koontz, *Robert Dinwiddie* (Glendale, Cal., 1941); George A. Wood, *William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756* (New York, 1920), *passim.*

[3] Loudoun to Sharpe, January 2, 1758, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5/50: 37-38; what seems to be the original of this and several other Sharpe-Loudoun items appears in War Office 34 (Amherst Papers), 34 Library of Congress Transcripts.

Sharpe, the recipient of the letter, was governor of one of the smallest but most populous colonies, and the only one beside Pennsylvania that operated under a proprietary charter. The Assembly of Maryland held an outstanding position in the long struggle for American sovereignty, and by 1756 had already shown sharp resistance to the application of English pressure. Sharpe himself had been the second commander-in-chief, just preceding Edward Braddock. He represented an attitude part way between the feeling for colonial independence and the rigid belief in obedience to England held by such a man as Loudoun. He was a member of the British ruling class, and believed with it in the principles of prerogative and patronage. This belief was tempered, however, by his experience on the frontier, and he tried to uphold what he honestly thought were the rights of the colonists. In the matters of recruiting and quartering he stood between the people of Maryland and the imperious behavior of the British commander.

The relationship among the Assembly, Sharpe, and Loudoun serves to illustrate in a new way the growth of British policy that came into being in 1759, and which has usually been attributed to forces at the English end. Maryland very definitely had a part in the process, as did the Englishmen in the field during the " years of defeat."

* * *

Sharpe met his Assembly in April, 1757, and reported to the ministry that since ". . . there was enough Money already raised & in the Treasury to support 500 Men during the Summer the Assembly was prevailed on without much Difficulty to pass a Vote for supporting that Number." [4] At a meeting in Philadelphia, March 14, 1757, Lord Loudoun and the governors of four southern colonies decided the quotas of men from each and their general distribution for the next year. The total number was to be 3,800, and they were to be spread along the frontier from Georgia to Pennsylvania.[5] Sharpe agreed to furnish 500 from Maryland to be under the general command of Colonel John Stanwix of the

The earl's personal copy is in Loudoun Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, L05317.

[4] Sharpe to Pitt, May 26, 1757, *Archives of Maryland*, " Correspondence of Horatio Sharpe," edited by William Hand Browne, vols. VI, IX, XIV, and first part of XXXI (Baltimore, 1888-1912). (Cited henceforth as *Md. Arch.*, IX, 3.)

[5] Minutes of a meeting of the governors of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland,

Royal American regiment stationed in Pennsylvania. There were already 250 Marylanders at their two forts: Frederick, built by the Assembly in 1756 about 150 miles west of the capital, midway between modern Hagerstown and Hancock, near what was considered the frontier at the time; and Cumberland, 75 miles farther west, built by Virginians and Marylanders under Colonel Sharpe in 1754 on what they considered the frontier.[6] These troops were under the command of Captain John Dagworthy, senior Maryland officer.[7]

In passing the bill authorizing the Governor's commitment the Assembly made it necessary for Sharpe to inform Loudoun ". . . that they have now done it with such a Reservation as prevents the Men's being disposed of exactly in the manner that your Ldp was pleased to propose." The Assembly wanted to give

and Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, March 15, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 3-5, "Proceedings of the Assembly, 1757," edited by J. Hall Pleasants (Baltimore, 1934). *Ibid.*, 46, 49, 61, 62, 77, 82, 119-129. The bill needed for the support of the troops was rejected April 29, 1757 (82), and finally passed May 6, 1757 (129), although no actual record of the vote is now available. *Ibid.*, xxiii (preface), gives an account of the four sessions of the assembly held during the period covered here. See Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 219, for comparison of old and new quotas and how they were determined. Sharpe's opinion was followed.

[6] The Ohio Company of Virginia had constructed in 1749, some buildings on the site of Fort Cumberland at the juncture of Wills' Creek and the Potomac, for storehouses and a base of operations in the Ohio country to the west. Sharpe, while he was commander-in-chief in 1754 strengthened the site, and prepared barracks for the reception of Braddock's troops the following year. Lieutenant Colonel Sir John St. Clair visited the place just before Braddock arrived, and found it quite unsuited to defense. It was commanded by high ground, and its lines of communication were very poor. St. Clair and Sharpe traveled down the Potomac in a canoe as far as the Falls (near the present day Washington), hoping to establish the feasibility of water transport as a mode of supplying this advanced base. They decided it could not be done. Dinwiddie had already formed that opinion.

[7] Sharpe to Dinwiddie, May 5, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, VI, 548. John Dagworthy, "a Gentleman who formerly resided in New Jersey" had been a half-pay captain in the British service. He had accompanied Lawrence Washington to Carthagena during the last war against France and Spain, The War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War, 1744-1748. In 1754 he appeared as the commander of the Maryland company at Fort Cumberland. Since he already had a royal commission he considered that of higher rank than his captain's commission from Governor Sharpe. On this basis a great deal of friction was created between him and George Washington whose colone's commission from Governor Dinwiddie was thought to be inferior to any royal commission. In 1756 Washington applied to General Shirley for a clarification of the matter, and Shirley upheld him. Dagworthy continued to command the Maryland troops throughout the war, and finally rose to the provincial rank of lieutenant colonel when Pitt made that possible. He went to Fort Cumberland in May, 1757, and took ". . . Possession of that place with a Detachment of 150 effective Men, . . ." relieving Colonel Washington whose forces retired southward to Fort Loudoun. Sharpe to Stanwix, May 25, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 1 ff., tells of Sharpe's turning over the command of Maryland's 250 men to Loudoun's direct command.

up Fort Cumberland altogether or give it to Virginia. It was even suggested that the place was in Virginia. They had little sympathy with the frontier, so Governor Sharpe, in order to maintain Fort Frederick and the right to raise any troops at all, had to accept the provision that no Maryland men were to leave the province nor be sent to Fort Cumberland except in case of an actual invasion or other emergency. No organized company was to be permanently stationed there, nor any officer above the rank of lieutenant. If any soldiers went there it was to be on a purely temporary basis for no longer than one month at a time.[8]

As soon as the law was passed Brigadier John Stanwix's behavior hardened the resolve of the Maryland Assembly never to grant supplies again to troops at Cumberland. He gave a peremptory order to Dagworthy to march there immediately with 150 men. That officer's pay was thereby jeopardized, but he went, being convinced along with the governor of the need for frontier defense.[9] Sharpe begged Stanwix to send regular officers and rotate the Maryland troops under their command ". . . as conformable as possible to the Directions of our Act which you know I as Governor must regard & if I can see executed tho you as a Military Officer appointed to command in these parts may not think yourself under any such obligation." [10] Failing in this appeal he reinforced Stanwix's order to Dagworthy, and readied five companies of militia to march to Fort Frederick on call. He could put 600 men in the field in ten days, but it was not to be on English terms. American militiamen would always fight if they could see the reason and need for it.[11] Sharpe reported to Pitt that

[8] Sharpe to Loudoun, May 13, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, VI, 554. Sharpe to Dinwiddie, June 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 16 ff. Stanwix made clear his attitude to Sharpe. He directed Dagworthy ". . . to pay no manner of regard to the Resolutions of our Assembly or the Orders of any Person besides himself." Sharpe to Loudoun, November 15, 1757, P R O, W O 34/34 (L. C. Tr.).

[9] Stanwix to Dagworthy, May 12, 1757, Loudoun Papers, Huntington Library, LO3611. Sharpe to Pitt, October 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 93.

[10] Sharpe to Stanwix, June 27, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 31. Dinwiddie to Sharpe, May 18, 1757, *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758,* edited by Robert Alonzo Brock, vols. III and IV of the Virginia Historical Society *Collections* (Richmond, 1883-1884), II, 630. Commonly cited as *Dinwiddie Papers.* Dinwiddie's opinion was that ". . . the Order of the Commander-in-Chief w'ch I think they ought not to dispute . . ." was final, and ". . . When y'r Forces are rais'd I concieve yo. may order 'em wherever yo. please." A month later he wished for an attack on Fort Duquesne with these men, where ". . . the Enemy have only 140 Men. . . ." Dinwiddie to Sharpe, June 14, 1757, *ibid.*, 638. Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, May 30, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 9.

[11] Sharpe to Stanwix, May 25, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 1. Report to Board of

the ". . . Disposition is not quite agreeable to the Earl of Loudoun's plan or my own opinion." [12] Loudoun sailed in June for the campaign against Louisbourg that netted a colossal failure. Major General James Abercrombie, his second in command, marched to defeat at the hands of the Marquis de Montcalm at Fort William Henry on Lake George. These two actions contributed to the recall of Loudoun the following year. Sharpe did the best he could in Maryland, after dissolving the Assembly, to furnish troops and supplies to Stanwix who was charged with holding the frontier.[13]

Maryland has often been accused of failing to support the British cause after 1756, mainly because no provincial units accompanied the expeditions of Loudoun and Abercrombie, as was the case from other colonies.[14] Actually Maryland troops were in excess of the quotas throughout 1757. There were nearly 500 colony-supported men at Forts Frederick and Cumberland, besides the militia that was called out from time to time. Sharpe reported to the Board of Trade that over 2,000 " young men " had been enlisted into the regular service prior to 1762.[15] In 1757 he wrote to Pitt, that the trade of Maryland would be ruined if the sailors of the place continued to enlist in the British navy. He noted that " so many of those that have been usually employed in our Trade have left us to serve on board His Majesty's Ships or Privateers that it is not without the greatest difficulty the Masters of our Vessels homeward bound can engage a few Seamen to navigate them." [16]

Sharpe took a gloomy view of the situation in the summer of 1757. He feared an attack from the quarter of Fort Duquesne, and since he had a genuine concern for the frontier settlements, he was especially anxious to forestall any Indian forays. He even wrote to his brother that he would go to the frontier himself, and

Trade, 176, British Museum, King's Manuscripts, 205: 251 (L. C. Tr.), Sharpe said that the colony could support 15,000 militiamen.

[12] Sharpe to Pitt, May 26, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 3.

[13] *Md. Arch.*, LV, 84, 129.

[14] Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 114. " In the autumn of 1756, when Loudoun urged southern governors to furnish recruits for the Royal Americans, Dinwiddie sent a hundred and twenty and Sharpe a hundred and fifty. These were the last men to be raised for British regiments . . ." until 1762.

[15] Report to Board of Trade, 1762, Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205:251 (L. C. Tr.).

[16] Sharpe to Pitt, October 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 95. Report to Board of Trade, 1756, *Md. Arch.*, XXI, 143. Report . . . , 1762, Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205: 250 (L. C. Tr.), shows 1,609 Maryland sailors normally employed.

". . . support Colonel Stanwix in the best manner that I am able with the Troops & Militia of this Province." [17]

By September the money in the Maryland treasury allocated to the support of the 500 troops authorized in May was gone. Sharpe knew that he would have to call another Assembly, but that it would be fruitless. His opinion expressed to his brother was that ". . . they will follow the Example of the Pensilvanians," and insist on restrictions impossible of acceptance.[18] They would either try to tax the proprietor's unpatented lands, or curb the utilization of the troops. They attempted both. Maryland's governor was very impatient with the reluctance of Parliament to impose legislation on the colonies. He thought that Great Britain simply by passing a law could force the Americans to adhere to British military policy and practice. He thought of the French and Indian War as a matter of life or death defense against an encroaching enemy, and naturally the people being attacked should be willing to pay at least part of the cost of their own protection. He wrote:

> It grieves me to think we should find such Difficulty in obtaining a paultry Sum to support a few hundred Men . . . when we could afford to support a thousand more for the General Service did the Legislature of Great Britain think fit to compel us. there is scarcely a Person of Common Sense among us but laments that no Act of Parliament has yet been made for that purpose, for my own part I am of opinion that nothing else can effectually preserve these Colonies from Ruin.[19]

The new Assembly convened September 28, 1757.[20] They immediately moved to reduce the Maryland troops to 300, to be confined to Fort Frederick, not to be ordered away from there by any royal officer, and to be supported by a tax on the proprietor's property.[21] Sharpe condemned the measure " . . . as encroaching on His Majesty's Prerogative." [22] He asked Loudoun to " . . . send

[17] Sharpe to William Sharpe, June 1, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 12. He had an opportunity to call out the militia, and start for Fort Frederick, but the occasion proved to be a false alarm. Some irresponsible Indians told George Washington, commanding at Fort Loudoun, that there was an impending attack. Sharpe had to disband his troops and return to Annapolis, but it did prove to him that when the necessity arose he could get men to fight.

[18] Sharpe to William Sharpe, September 18, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 85-86.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Md. Arch.*, LV, 199.

[21] Sharpe to Baltimore, October 5, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 87. Sharpe to Calvert, October 6, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 88.

[22] Sharpe to Stanwix, October 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 92.

Colº Stanwix some Orders about Fort Cumberland as soon as possible, our Troops will not I am afraid be kept together after the Assembly's Resolution is made known to them, indeed those of them that are at that Fort will unless they receive a speedy supply of Provisions be obliged to abandon it for want of Food." [23] Sharpe was so concerned over the possible evacuation of the troops from the frontier that he informed Pitt he had ". . . given orders for their being furnished upon my own Account with as much provision as they shall stand in need of," pending Loudoun's action.[24]

The assembly's real reasons for resisting the royal commands were quite probably constitutional.[25] Sharpe recognized this to a certain extent when, in addressing them after nearly two months of dallying while he was paying most of the bills himself, he said that the last session ". . . gave Occasion for an Odious Distinction . . . between . . . *Maryland* and . . . the neighbouring Colonies; and inclined his Majesty's General . . . to entertain a very unfavourable Opinion of the People. . . ." He intimated that Marylanders really wanted to pay their just obligations: it was merely a matter of agreeing on the mode of payment.[26] However, there was another potent motivation for the assemblymen. The members actually voting in the Lower House in the fall of 1757, thirty-eight in all, were almost wholly representative of the old counties around Chesapeake Bay. Frederick county, the western section of the province, had only three representatives. Although consisting of nearly half of the colony's territory, this county could only boast about 25,000 inhabitants out of the total of nearly 150,000.[27]

[23] Sharpe to Loudoun, October 20, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 91.

[24] Sharpe to Pitt, October 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 95. On August 11, 1757, the intelligence showed that Fort Duquesne's garrison ". . . did not exceed four Hundred Men . . . ," and Sharpe wanted to attack it then. He thought with some basis that he could raise enough money by subscriptions to carry out such a campaign. *Md. Arch.*, LV, 777, shows the Assembly quite nonplussed that the governor could successfully equip and put into the field such a large force of militia.

[25] Assembly proceedings, October 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 244. The lower house tried to tax " Real and Personal Estates . . . and . . . all Lucrative Offices and Employments, . . ." putting the upper house in the position of having to veto the measure (*ibid.*, December, 16, 1757, LV, 195, 196). Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 220.

[26] *Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly of the Province of Maryland*, October 23, 1757 (Annapolis, 1757), p. 2.

[27] Report to Board of Trade, 1762, Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205: 249 (L. C. Tr.), gives 130,000 (including 36,000 Negroes) inhabitants in 1748; in 1756 there were 107,963 white people and 46,225 " blacks and mulattoes." About 2,000 men were estimated to be out of the province on military duties of one kind or another. *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*, ed. by William Stevens Perry (5 vols., Hartford, 1878), IV, 336, gives " 5,000 Taxables " in Frederick County in 1775.

The bulk of these 25,000 resided east of Fort Frederick. Since there had been no Indian threat nearer than that, it was hard to realize the terrors of the frontier even though the *Maryland Gazette* carried many tales of horror and atrocity.[28]

Henry Hooper, the speaker of the Assembly told the Governor:

> We understand the most common Track of the Indians in making their Incursions into Virginia, (which have been lately very frequent,) is thro the wild desert Country lying between Fort Cumberland and Fort Frederick, and yet we cannot learn that the Forces at Fort Cumberland, (tho' most of those in our Pay the Summer past, have been stationed there, contrary we humbly conceive, to the Law that raised them) have very rarely, if ever, molested those Savages, in those their Incursions, from whence we wou'd willingly presume their Passage is below the Ranges, which Troops station'd at Fort Cumberland can, with Safety to that Fort, extend themselves to, and consequently that any Security arising from those Troops, even to the Virginians, who are most in the Way of being protected by them, must be very remote, and to us much more so.[29]

This was undoubtedly an honest opinion from the point of view of the tidewater society of Maryland. Those people felt their allegiance to the sovereign province of their birth and choice, not to Virginia, Pennsylvania, nor to the remote crown of England. They felt that they knew their own best interest, and they were not just obstinate, as Sharpe, Loudoun, and Stanwix were inclined to think.[30]

The Mutiny Act of 1756 had been extended to America, and Loudoun naturally expected it to apply just as it did in England and Scotland.[31] The unexpected provision for quartering troops

[28] *Votes and Proceedings . . .* , October, 1757, p. [1]. There should have been fifty-eight members in the lower house, but due to illness and death there were only thirty-eight at that time. See Bernard C. Steiner, "Maryland's Religious History," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI (1926), 1-20. *Maryland Gazette* (published weekly by Jonas Green, Annapolis), April 21, 1757. *Maryland Gazette*, October 7, 1756, gives Adam Long's (prisoner of the French at Fort Duquesne) report of three prisoners being tortured. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1757: A sentry at fort Frederick was fired on one night, and ". . . the next Day they Discovered the Track of Two who had gone across a small Run of Water . . . This looks as if we might expect they will soon visit those Parts again." *Ibid.*, April 21, 1757, reported a man scalped near Fort Frederick. Such accounts appeared in nearly every issue of the *Gazette* throughout 1757. Merely from these stories one would wonder how the frontier population remained during the French and Indian War. The facts show that there were many more people in the west after the war, and that they had pushed the frontier farther from the coast steadily during the struggle.

[29] P. R. O., C. O. 5/49: 108-109 (L. C. Tr.).

[30] Sharpe to Loudoun, October 21, 1757, P. R. O., C. O. 5/49: 37 (L. C. Tr.).

[31] Stanley M. Pargellis, ed., *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765* (New York and London, 1936), 43 ff., 29 George II, c. 35, "Act for the better recruiting

at the colonists' expense evoked an outraged response from the colonials, who in their turn surprised the royal officers by their resistance. In Great Britain where inns were numerous and quartering frequent and customary, there had never been much difficulty. However, in America, quartering was not accepted as a normal patriotic duty, for practical as well as constitutional reasons. For instance, Annapolis, a town of possibly 1,000 inhabitants would be sorely cramped to accommodate 500 soldiers in its private houses.[32] The Lower House reasonably stated that " there are few Towns that have more than One or Two Inns or Public Houses in them." [33]

Sharpe recognized the inconvenience that would attend quartering in Annapolis; and although perfectly amenable to the principle, he nevertheless transmitted the Assembly's request for information to Loudoun. They wanted to find out, partly for the sake of delay and partly for an honest need to know, how many troops Lord Loudoun intended to station in Maryland during the winter of 1757. They even intimated that the colony might reimburse the householders, after the manner of Parliament, if they knew exactly how much money would be involved.[34] Loudoun answered quickly and to the point as far as he was concerned:

> From your Letter it does appear that the point of Quarters is not well understood: Quarters the Troops have a right to Every where, & at all times; In time of War the number to be Quartered in any place must depend on the Exigencies of the Service, of which the General can be the only Iudge.[35]

His private suggestion of twenty companies for Maryland, four of which would be in the capital could not fail to antagonize the burgesses of Annapolis.[36]

His Majesty's Forces on the Continent of North America and for the better Regulation of the Army, and preventing Desertion therein." See Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America*, 117-119. See also Eugene I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820,* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, XXII, Nos. 3 and 4 (Baltimore, 1904).

[32] Daniel Dulany (younger), " Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1755," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III (1879), 11-31. Pargellis, *op. cit.*, 190, 204.

[33] *Md. Arch.*, LV, 219. At this point the Assembly was willing to quarter one regiment if they could know about it in advance.

[34] Sharpe to Loudoun, October 1, 1757, *M. Arch.*, IX, 86.

[35] Loudoun to Sharpe, October 16, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 89. Indicative of Loudoun's imperious manner toward the colonials at that time.

[36] *Md. Arch.*, LV, 67-68, 212, 171, 177, 181, 285-286, 351-352 include an

At the end of December Sharpe wrote to Cecilius Calvert:

There are now in this City five Companies of the Royal American Regiment in Number near 500 who are quartered on the Inhabitants indiscriminately. As soon as I was advised of their being ordered hither I gave the Corporation Notice & recommended it to them to provide for their Reception. Upon this they presented a Petition to the Assembly for Assistance but having unhappily failed of Success they came to a Resolution among themselves to provide for the Troops in the best manner they could at their own private Expense in Expectation however that the Assembly will some time or other reimburse them.[37]

Loudoun and the assembly would probably have agreed on one thing at this point: that such a measure had a punitive aspect. Tempers ran high, and Maryland refused to give any further aid during 1757 except on a coercive basis.

From the time of the council of war in Philadelphia in March, the Earl of Loudoun insisted publicly on Maryland's furnishing ". . . as large a number of Provincial Troops as may be for the Service of the ensuing Campaign." [38] He also wanted Sharpe to arm and equip properly the " Militia of your Province." In May he continued:

I must recommend it to you in the most earnest manner that you will immediately in Consequence of his Majesty's Orders, signified to you set about raising and getting in Readiness, a considerable Force to be ready to join and support the Troops already agreed upon to be raised for the public Service.[39]

When Loudoun returned to New York after the unsuccessful adventure in the north, he turned his attention to the reorganization of frontier defense from Georgia to the Great Lakes. He had left Stanwix in command of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and he

extended discussion that ended with the opinion that quartering was an " infringement of the Liberties " of the people. *Ibid.*, 279, 299-300; the corporation of Annapolis took steps to accommodate 500 troops in December, 1757. Barker, *op. cit.*, 209-210, seems to consider the episodes of quartering as entirely indicative of the colonials' attempts to further their sovereignty at the expense of the high-handed royal authorities.

[37] Sharpe to Calvert, December 26, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 121.

[38] Loudoun to Sharpe, May 5, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, VI, 546.

[39] *Ibid.*, Loudoun wrote Sharpe, June 13, 1757, that he had received an " . . . Account of the Resolution of your Assembly, in relation to the Orders they have given to the Troops raised in your Province, if not being Employed in the defence of it; an Order inconsistent in itself, and a direct infringement of the King's undoubted Prerogative: I must desire, that you will shew them the light this must appear in at home . . . As I am sure you will enforce to your Assembly, this Affair, in the strongest manner." *Md. Arch.*, IX, 23.

was undoubtedly irritated at the resistance shown to that officer on the matters of frontier defense and quartering. He became eloquent on hearing from Sharpe that the newly elected Assembly in Maryland had further reduced and restricted its frontier appropriations in the fall of 1757.[40]

Two months before Pitt managed to get enough power in the British ministry to have him recalled, Loudoun wrote:

I must own the Restriction Your Assembly Endeavoured to Lay on the Troops raised by Your Province last Spring Surprized me, as it Interfered with the King's undoubted prerogative of Commanding all His Subjects in Arms, either by Himself or those he appoints under him—

But as the Troops were wise enough to obey His Majesty's orders given them, by those who alone, had power to give them; and as I was Informed by a Gentleman from Maryland that, that Clause of the Act had been Layed before Lawyers, who had all agreed that it was not in the power of the Assembly to Lay such a Restriction, and that of Course the Clause was Null, I was in hopes the Gentlemen that compose the Assembly had Reconsidered that Affair and seen the Error of it.

But your Letter, & their Redress have shewn me that I was mistaken; and yet I cannot help having the Charity for my Fellow Subjects to believe that this Affair has not appeared to them in its true Light, for I Cannot think, that the Assembly of Maryland ever Intended to Invade the King's prerogatives.

Nor can I possibly believe that they Intend to throw the Frontier Garrisons of His Majesty's Dominions, into the Enemy's hands, particularly when those Garrisons are in their own Province, & so Essential to their protection.

. . . I do demand from the Province of Maryland that the 500 men . . . Employed by me this Last Summer, . . . be Continued in the Service this Winter, as absolutely necessary for . . . the Defence of His Majesty's Dominions.

As to their Disposing of the Troops in the Winter I have the King's Commission to Command all men that are or shall be in Arms in North America; I am on the Spot, and whilst the King does me the Honour to Continue that Commission to me, I will Execute it, and if any Officer or Soldier, presumes to disobey my orders, I will treat him as the Law Directs.[41]

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[40] Sharpe to Loudoun, October 20, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 91. Sharpe to Stanwix, October 21, 1757, *Ibid.*, IX, 92-93.

[41] Loudoun to Sharpe, November 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 96-97. *Md. Arch.*, LV, 357-360, gives text of an act to raise £20,000 for the support of 300 men, and at the same time placed a tax on Baltimore's property. *Ibid.*, 270 (a few of the supporters went over to the side of R. J. Henry and Dulany), 274 (a few more went over and defeated the measure), 282, 283 (haggled over details of taxation and passed it), 177, 290 (amended it), 195, 196 (Council had to veto).

The same day Loudoun explained to Sharpe that " I Have . . . writ you a Publick Letter in pretty strong Terms, as it appeared to me necessary in the present situation of Your Assembly." He made clear the tactical importance of protecting the " Back Settlements," and the necessity of maintaining Fort Cumberland. At this time he did not depart from his firm belief that the colonists should submit to the authority of the crown in every detail. However, as an expedient, if the Assembly would under no circumstances be persuaded to furnish troops soon enough, he would send regulars to Fort Cumberland, even though taking them from other duties might " probably Cost the Lives of Thousands of His Majesty's Subjects. . . ." He wanted the Americans to realize their position and bear ". . . every reasonable share of the Expence of the War in this Country, of which at present the Provinces bear none of that great Body of Regular Troops that are sent for their protection. . . ." Loudoun was learning what every other British commander was to learn: that the colonists were beginning to think of themselves as Americans. He still thought, however, that feeding some of them would in " some Degree prevent the Disease from spreading." [42]

On the other hand, it was quite difficult for the people in Annapolis, who had hardly seen an Indian, to understand why 500 regulars had to be quartered on them while they supported an equal number of their own men on a distant frontier primarily for the defense of Virginia. 300 troops at Fort Frederick was the best they would do for Governor Sharpe and the Earl of Loudoun.[48]

The Assembly on one side and the commander-in-chief on the other left Governor Sharpe in a conciliatory position in the middle. He was by sympathy and training a member of the same ruling class as Loudoun, and he had unwavering loyalty to the crown. Yet he was aware of the problems of the colony, and had exhibited a keen interest in the frontier ever since his arrival in America. He had several friends in the Assembly and not wanting to antagonize his legislature any more than was necessary, he did not show them the earl's threat to take legal action. He informed Loudoun

[42] Loudoun to Sharpe, November 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 98-99, marked " Private."

[43] Br. Mus., King's Mss., 205: 251 (L. C. Tr.), states that there were one hundred and twenty Indians ". . . in the populous parts of the Province [who] live in good Neighbourhood with the Inhabitants . . . ," indicating the attitude near the tidewater.

that his lawyers' opinion ". . . was very different from what Your Ldp seems to apprehend. . . ." The agents provisioning the troops considered themselves ". . . as Servants to the Assembly & . . . that they had nothing else to do but to act agreeable to the [orders] of those by whom they were nominated." They could not be forced to supply food that they knew would never be paid for. They were bonded, and the ultimate result would certainly be that the contractors themselves would have to stand any unauthorized expense. Sharpe realized the futility of trying to force the issue with the legislature, and prepared to send ". . . three or four Companies of Militia . . . to Fort Frederick on the first Notice." After this procedure on the side of conciliation of the assembly, Sharpe expressed his own views to Loudoun:

> As I find that all our Troops were a few Days since paid to the 10th of Oct^{r} & that their Cloathing was not dld [delivered] to them till very lately I believe there is no probability of their deserting at least on this side Christmas, since Col^{o} Stanwix has upon my Application given the Person that has hitherto victualled them orders to continue to supply them with Provisions, . . . the superiour Class of People in every part of the Province . . . declare publickly that they should be well pleased if the Legislature of great Britain, would ease the Assembly of the trouble of framing Supply Bills by Compelling us by an Act of Parliament to raise £ 20,000 annually by a Poll Tax as the Quota of this Province towards carrying on the War.[44]

Loudoun intended to come to Maryland to settle the matter of Maryland's participation in person.[45] As it turned out he never came, and during December his thinking seemed to undergo a change that was to place an entirely different emphasis on the relationship of Maryland with the British army. Sharpe's last letter in November, 1757, continued on the basis of the old relationship: the monotonous reiteration of position by either side. He explained again his difficulties, enclosing a ". . . Copy of the Military Part as it is called of the Bill which our Assembly have been so long employed about . . . The Bill will be returned to them to morrow with a Negative upon which they will very probably desire to be dismissed but I shall not . . . comply . . . untill your Ldp's Business will permit you to undertake your intended

[44] Sharpe to Loudoun, November 15, 1757, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34 (L. C. Tr.); *Md. Arch.*, IX, 104.

[45] Sharpe to Denny, November 27, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 105. Loudoun to Sharpe, November 3, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 99. Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun* . . . , 221, gives a different interpretation of Loudoun's projected trip to Annapolis.

Journey." [46] He reported the latest obstruction to be an attempt to reduce a captain's pay from " 12/6 Currency p Day to 10/ which according to our present Excha. is not more than 6/ stg . . . ," while the representatives themselves received " 14/ a Day each besides Travelling Expences so that the Taxes . . . to pay the Assembly for sitting since the war was first begun in America amounts to at least a fifth part of the Money that has been granted here for His Majesty's Service.[47] The Assembly deliberated about two weeks longer, and was finally prorogued on December 16, without any kind of settlement having been reached.[48]

It was fully evident that some other expedient would have to be used if Fort Cumberland was to be kept manned until the 1758 offensive against Fort Duquesne. Sharpe took the responsibility of turning the Maryland troops over to Colonel Stanwix, ". . . to do . . . as you shall think fit." There were

> about 430 effective Men; of these 250 or 300 are Good Men and Engaged for Life or a long Term, most of the Soldiers in Captain Dagworthy's Comp[y] and some of the others were Enlisted for His Majesty's Service in General, . . . they are all Paid to the 10[th] of October and are pretty well Cloathed. . . .[49]

At this point Colonel Sharpe, as a royal officer himself, determined to establish his own future security in the event of any subsequent questioning of his motives and actions. He wrote a résumé of the happenings of the last six months of 1757 to Lord Baltimore, and sent a copy to the Board of Trade. He explained that the Maryland troops were being disbanded or drafted into the Royal Americans as a last resort, and disavowed any further responsibility for them.[50] To turn censure from his personal performance he noted that " I am to have the honour of defending Fort Frederick & protecting our Frontier Inhabitants with Militia till we can fall on some better Scheme." [51]

[46] Sharpe to Loudoun, November 29, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 106.
[47] *Ibid.*, 107.
[48] Sharpe to Stanwix, December 17, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 109. Sharpe to Dinwiddie, December 4, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 107, promised his old friend, Dinwiddie, who was going back to England, a ". . . particular account of our Transactions & Correspondence since we met . . . it might possibly afford you some little Amusement after you shall have turned your Back on us poor Governors & all American Assemblies."
[49] Sharpe to Stanwix, December 17, 1757, R. R. O., C. O. 5/49: 139-142 (L. C. Tr.).
[50] Sharpe to Baltimore, December 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 110-112.
[51] Sharpe to Dinwiddie, December 21, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 112.

Sharpe hoped to see Loudoun's arrival in Maryland as soon as possible, since the Assembly was to meet again January 17, 1758. He wanted the general to take personal responsibility for trying to induce the colony to appropriate more money, and for quartering five hundred troops on a town of less than one hundred families, " obliged to receive or provide Lodging Fire & necessaries for 15 or 20 men each." [52]

The war seemed to have stopped for everybody except Sharpe, the Indians on the frontier and the Maryland troops opposing them. Baltimore sent his routine instructions in October, giving belated assent to the supply bill of 1756.[53] That £40,000 had long since been spent. Lord Loudoun disregarded Sharpe's letters until the last days of December. He made no mention of quartering, but again expostulated on the rights of king and commander over the colonists: " I have shewed you . . . that the King has the undisputed Right, that he has, by his Commission put the Execution of it into my hands." [54] He was unable to come to Maryland, and seemed to have lost interest in the affairs of that colony. He said he was sure that the Assembly, when they knew the true situation, would willingly remain good and loyal subjects of the crown.

The governor of Maryland, thus deserted on all sides, was prepared to meet the Assembly again, and at the risk of proprietary displeasure might have acceded to the demands of the provincials. The next day he received by special express a private letter from Lord Loudoun. This letter seems to have escaped general notice in spite of its significance.[55] It certainly reveals a deeper understanding and warmer personality than has hitherto been attributed to the earl. It shows that he could be more flexible and practical than his cold official correspondence with Sharpe had indicated up to this time. Since it is not printed anywhere it is worth quoting at length:

I have writ you a publick Letter in the Stile that appears to me the most proper in the present Situation of affairs with your Assembly. But as it is necessary on all Such Occasions to make the best of the Situation, and as it

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[52] Sharpe to Loudoun, December 22, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 113-114.
[53] Instructions to the governor from Lord Baltimore, October 23, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 751-753.
[54] Loudoun to Sharpe, December 30, 1757, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 123.
[55] Loudoun to Sharpe, January 2, 1758, P. R. O., C. O. 5/50: 37-38 (L. C. Tr.).

is extremely inconvenient to Move the Troops at Such a Distance at this Season of the Year, I must here make you a proposal of a new plan in Case you think it prudent for you to go into it, Which is this, That Notwithstanding that your Assembly have broke up without making any Provision for Your Troops that you should give them orders still to remain at least a necessary proportion of them, and that you will promise to find pay and provisions for them in hopes of the Assembly's making it good at their next Meeting. That this should be the declared Plan, but I do engage that in case The Assembly do not indemnify you that I will pay you out of the Contingencies of the Army.

It will at once occur to you that the reason that makes me desire not to be known to have in any Shape engaged to pay this money for fear of Setting a Precedent for the other Provinces to make demands for the Pay of their Troops; and yet in the present Situation I do think it necessary that at least a proper Garrison of those Men that are acquainted with the Country should be kept in fort Cumberland for its security [*sic*], & I should be extreamly happy if this Measure could be brought about. You will communicate with Colonel Stanwix to whom I shall send copies of the Letters to you; My orders to him is to cooperate with you & follow the orders he received of Nov^{r} 3^{d} of which I transmitted you a Copy.

The Boston People have made a Disturbance about quarters which I have at last got Settled, but not time enough to permit to come to you. Wishing you the Com^{ts} of the Season I am

Sir Your M h Serv^{t}

Loudoun [56]

Sharpe seized the offer with alacrity, extended the period of the Assembly's prorogation, and wrote to Loudoun:

. . . soon after I had the Pleasure . . . to receive Your Lordship's Letters, I wrote to Captain Dagworthy & other Officers of the Maryland Forces and gave them room to expect that both they and the Men under their Command will receive all the Pay that might be due them when the Assembly shall have again met, . . . I have likewise wrote to the person that has hitherto Victualled our Troops and desired him to continue to supply them . . . being convinced by Your Lordships Letter of the 2^{d} Instant: that You will not let him be a sufferer. . . .[57]

His exuberance was short-lived, however, because he learned in March ". . . from M^{r} Pitt . . ." that ". . . the Earl of Loudoun . . .

[56] The greeting and signature in this form were not usual for the earl. He was usually more formal.

[57] Sharpe to Loudoun, January 22, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 135. Both this letter and its antecedent above have copies in the Loudoun Papers, catalogued as LO5439 and LO5317 respectively. Cited in Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun* . . . , 221 n. 14. Sharpe to Stanwix, January 22, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 138.

has no longer the Chief Command in America." [58] Major General James Abercrombie commanded in America for the next two months.[59] His command dated in England prior to Lord Loudoun's offer to support the Maryland troops, and he did not at first feel obligated to carry out his predecessor's commitments. However, since the next campaign to the west was to be under the independent command of Brigadier John Forbes, he finally added his recommendation to those of Loudoun, Stanwix, and Forbes; and at last in 1761 the whole claim was paid by the British treasury.[60]

The design for conquering the French founded on the thinking of the Duke of Cumberland, and embodied in the instructions given to General Braddock in 1755, was finally abandoned in 1758.[61] Forbes' troops took Fort Duquesne in November and renamed it Fort Pitt, and with that action Maryland's direct participation in the war ended. She still sent men to the British

[58] Sharpe to Stanwix, March 12, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 150. Calvert to Sharpe, January 12, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 130, " Lord Loudoun is recall'd giving no content Maj: Gen^{l} Abercrombie in his stead & Col^{o} Amherst to Com^{d} the Expedition to Louisbourg. Gen^{l} Webb ordered home disliked, & speak of Brigadier Gen^{ls} to be made who are to Com^{d} seperately in America the Force w^{h} is s^{d} will be greatly augm^{td} by Provincial Forces, raised on a new Plan; 'tis hoped to better End, then the Force has yielded hence w^{ch} like Beef stake has been sent hot & hot but to little purpose. English Beef having greatly falen as to Substance & Hart." Sharpe to Lloyd, January 25, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, IX, 136, 143. Richard Lloyd, the new commissary, wanted to resign in less than three months.

[59] He was succeeded by Sir Jeffery Amherst whose brilliance dominated the remainder of the war.

[60] This claim is not to be confused with the money advanced by Forbes to the Marylanders serving under him as scouts in the fall of 1758. See " Account of Sharpe," June, 1758 to March, 1259, " expended by order of Brigadier-General John Forbes, Colonel Henry Bouquet, and Sir John St. Clair," *Md. Arch.*, LV, 773-776 (appendix VI). The total of £ 601 9 3 currency was paid to Sharpe in instalments up to March 24, 1759 for the service with Forbes. Amherst to Sharpe, February 12, 1762, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34; 323 (L. C. Tr.), informed Sharpe that the Lords of the Treasury authorized Maryland's claims, or ". . . Such part thereof, as shall Appear to be Iustly due. . . ." Amherst to Sharpe, April 17, 1762, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34: 329, Lt. Col. Dagworthy was granted £ 4,205 19 10 sterling, and Dr. David Ross was given £ 1,153 12 0 sterling. Sharpe was refused payment at this time. Amherst to Sharpe, May 23, 1762, P. R. O., W. O. 34/34: 333, said it was " bad precedent " to pay a governor out of army funds. He must apply in England. Robert Wood to James West, November 27, 1760, *Calendar Home Office Papers, 1760-1765*, edited by Richard Arthur Roberts (London, 1881), p. 6. The total amount of the claim had been £ 5,677 11 6 sterling. In addition Sharpe's personal claim was £ 719 15 6 sterling.

[61] Winthrop Sargent, *The History of the Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755 under Major-General Braddock,* vol. V of *Memoirs* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1855), appendix I, 393, for Braddock's instructions. Cf. Gipson, *op. cit.*, 58-59, 177.

army.[62] Forbes had with him four hundred of Sharpe's rangers, whom he praised very highly before he died on the eve of the conquest of Fort Duquesne.[63] Pitt was at last able to impose his will on the British ministry, and there was no longer any question that Parliament would pay most of the bill.

[62] Instructions to Sharpe, November 27, 1758, *Md. Arch.*, LV, 756. Baltimore approved a bill to raise £ 45,000 to enlist men and pay their transportation to the regular army.

[63] Forbes to Pitt, September 6, 1758, *Correspondence of William Pitt when Secretary of State with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commanders in America*, 2 vols., edited by Gertrude Selwyn Kimball (New York, 1906), II, 341. Forbes wrote: "The Governor of Maryland I am greatly obliged to . . . As he stands bound for the pay and the keeping together the Maryland Troops at Fort Cumberland . . . by order of Loudoun & Stanwix. . . ."

PERRY HALL: COUNTRY SEAT OF THE GOUGH AND CARROLL FAMILIES

By Edith Rossiter Bevan

A historic marker erected by the State Roads Commission on the Bel Air Road slightly north of the village of Perry Hall, marks the entrance lane to Perry Hall, once the home of Harry Dorsey Gough. It informs those who stop to read that the mansion, one of the largest houses in Maryland, was burned in 1824 and one-half of it " rebuilt."

No account of the fire which only partially destroyed Perry Hall has been found though the files of the *Baltimore American* have been carefully searched from 1824 through 1826 when the house was repaired. Fortunately surviving today are three oil painting of Perry Hall done in the first decade of the eighteenth century by Francis Guy, an English landscape painter who settled in Baltimore shortly before 1800. These paintings are of great historical interest today for they show Perry Hall as it was when the Goughs lived there.[1] They give the front view of an imposing two story red brick Georgian house with one story balancing wings. Attached to the wings by passage ways are square brick pavilions, with roofs surmounted by steeple-like finials or cupolas, making a noble frontage of a hundred and fifty feet or more. Projecting from the center of the main house is an entrance porch with gable roof, supported by four white columns; a triple window in the second story is centered over the peak of the gable. Three dormer windows are shown in the red tile roof of the high attic.

Gough (1745-1808), the owner of this magnificent country seat, was a prominent merchant in Baltimore where a street today bears his name. He was active in various organizations. He was an early and influential member of the Methodist Church and Perry Hall is often mentioned in early chronicles of that church as the scene of the historic meeting of preachers who founded the

[1] J. Hall Pleasants, *Four Late Anglo-American Landscape Painters* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1945), pp. 55-80, 107-108.

Methodist Church of America in 1784. As the first president of the Maryland Agricultural Society he made a study of advanced methods of farming and Perry Hall, with its imported cattle and sheep was famous in its day.

Harry Dorsey Gough was born in Anne Arundel County, the son of Thomas Gough, a church warden of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis. His mother was Sophia, daughter of Caleb Dorsey of Hockley, Anne Arundel County. Her brother, Caleb Dorsey, Jr., was known as the rich iron merchant of Elkridge. He built and lived at Belmont, the present home of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Bruce in Howard County. Two of Caleb, Jr.'s daughters became mistresses of Hampton, the Ridgely estate in Baltimore County. Rebecca and Priscilla (Dorsey) Ridgely were Harry Dorsey Gough's first cousins. General Charles Ridgely of Hampton was his wife's brother.[2]

Shortly after Harry Dorsey Gough came of age he was named residuary legatee and executor of the large and intricate estate of a relative in England—Isaac Burgess, a woolen draper of Bristol, whose assets amounted to nearly £ 70,000. Young Harry Gough went to England to claim his estate.[3] He returned to Maryland in 1768 and settled in Baltimore where he became a successful merchant. On May 2, 1771, he married Prudence Carnan, sixteen year old daughter of the late John Carnan, a Baltimore merchant.[4] The mother of the bride was Mrs. Achsah (Ridgely) Chamier, an elder sister of Captain Charles Ridgely, the builder of Hampton in Baltimore County. By her first marriage to Dr. Robert Holliday, she had one son, John Robert Holliday, whose estate, Epsom, lay south of Hampton. By John Carnan, her second husband, she had Eliza who married Thomas Bond Onion, Prudence, the wife of Harry Dorsey Gough, and Charles Ridgely Carnan (1762-

[2] J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties* (Baltimore: Kohn & Pollock, 1905), pp. 63-65.

[3] Letter Book of Harry Dorsey Gough, 1790, at Maryland Historical Society.

[4] Family Bible of Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Maryland Historical Society, records therein printed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXII (Dec., 1927), 377-380; *Letters to Washington*, edited by Stanislaus M. Hamilton (Boston, 1901), IV, 58. George Washington's step-son, Jackie Custis, attended the wedding. The lad, a student at the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Boucher's school in Annapolis, had been sent by Mr. Boucher to Dr. Henry Stevenson's hospital in Baltimore for a smallpox inoculation. There he played truant—an infraction Mr. Boucher reported to Col. Washington when he wrote on May 3rd to inform him that Jackie had completely recovered from the inoculation.

1829) who was an infant when his father died.[5] As no children were born to Charles and Rebecca (Dorsey) Ridgely, Charles Ridgely Carnan at his uncle's request and by act of the Legislature changed his name to Charles Carnan Ridgely and inherited Hampton under his uncle's will. He married Priscilla Dorsey, a much younger sister of Rebecca, his uncle's wife, making the relationship between the families still closer and more complicated.

Mrs. Carnan married for the third time Daniel Chamier (1720-1778), merchant and High Sheriff of Baltimore County, from 1767 to 1770. He was a Tory and left Baltimore on the eve of the Revolutionary War " to enjoy an important office under the British Government in New York City." He died there and Mrs. Chamier probably made her home with the Goughs.[6] She died at Perry Hall in 1785 and was buried there in the family burial ground. Mentioned in her will are her five Holliday grandchildren. Her shares in the Northampton Iron Works, later known as Ridgely's Forge, she left to her three Carnan children—Eliza, Prudence and Charles. To Prudence Gough she left her gold watch with chain and seals; four silver goblets and her carriage and horses and any article of household furniture at Perry Hall. Prudence also was given £ 500 and little Sophia, the only child of the Goughs, received a like amount.[7]

For over ten years Harry Dorsey Gough corresponded with his London agents, James Russell and Hugh Hamersly, Esqrs., urging them to convert his estate into cash. In 1774 he wrote his agents that he had made a very considerable purchase of land which he would have to pay for in six months and would draw on them for £ 3,000 and £ 500 in favor of Mr. Archibald Buchanan.[8] Land records show that he became the owner of The Adventure, a thousand acre estate which he purchased from Mr. Buchanan who had brought it a few months before from Addison and John Murdock.[9]

The Adventure was originally granted to George Lingan of Calvert County in 1684. It became the property of Corbin Lee,

[5] Ridgely genealogical charts, Maryland Historical Society; Baltimore City Court House, Wills, #4, f. 96.

[6] *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore, December 15, 1778.

[7] Wills, #4, f. 96, Baltimore City Court House.

[8] Letter book of Harry Dorsey Gough, 1768, at Maryland Historical Society.

[9] Deeds, Liber A L No. L (1775) f. 123 and L. W. G., f. 113 (1774), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Esq., who died in December, 1773. He was a son of Philip Lee and represented Baltimore County in the Lower House of Assembly in 1761-62. Mr. Lee died intestate and left no issue. Addison and John Murdock of Prince George's County were relatives of Mrs. Lee, probably appointed by the court to settle the estate. Mr. Buchanan undoubtedly bought the property as a speculation for on April 16, 1774, he advertised The Adventure for sale in Goddard's *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser.*

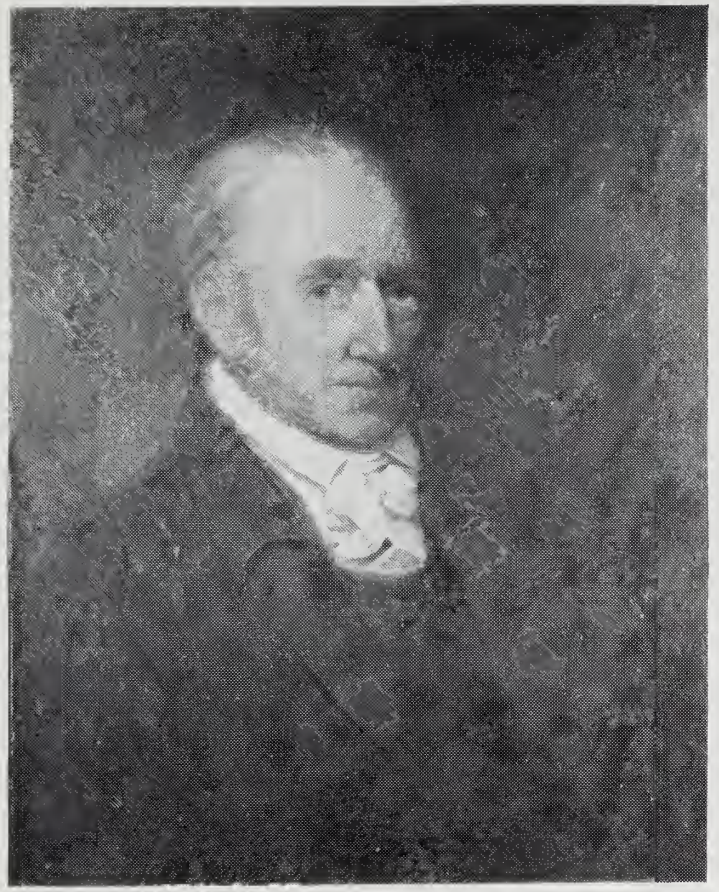
He described the property as lying on both sides of the Great Falls of the Gunpowder River, some six miles from Joppa, about thirteen miles from Baltimore Town and two and a half miles from the Nottingham Forges. White oak, black walnut, hickory, locust and poplar grew in abundance and the wood could be readily sold to the Iron works. Gough was not dependent on selling wood to the Nottingham Forges which was a British owned company and was confiscated during the Revolutionary War. About 350 acres of The Adventure were cleared and under good fence; 70 acres were planted in wheat. The property was well watered and good meadow could be made at small expense.

The property was improved by a two story brick dwelling house which Mr. Buchanan considered large and elegant. It was 65 x 45 feet with four rooms on a floor and a large passage. The cellar was good and dry. The inside work of the house was not finished, but a two story frame house, 25 x 22 feet with a piazza was completed as was a two story stone kitchen, 40 x 30 feet, and a two story store house. Underneath the large frame barn were brick stables and there were " sundry other eminent out houses." The garden covered three acres and near it was a pleasant summer house.

Mr. Gough lost no time in changing the name of his purchase to Perry Hall for that autumn, 1774, " Garrick, owned by Harry Dorsey Gough of Perry Hall " won a purse of £ 30 at the race track at Baltimore.[10] Perry Hall was the name of the family seat of Sir Henry Gough of County Staffordshire, England, who died in 1724 and presumably was a connection of the Goughs of Anne Arundel County.[11] The Gough coat of arms is engraved on a

[10] Francis Barnum Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore: author, 1922) footnote p. 68.

[11] John Burke, *Dictionary of Landed Gentry in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1846), I, 484.



HARRY DORSEY GOUGH, 1745-1808
Artist Unknown

MRS. HARRY DORSEY GOUGH, 1755-1822
(PRUDENCE CARNAN)
By John Wesley Jarvis
Courtesy Mrs. Bartow Van Ness

PERRY HALL SHORTLY AFTER 1800

Shown in the foreground are Mr. Gough (on horseback), his son-in-law, James Carroll, Mrs. Gough, Mrs. Carroll, two Carroll children, and colored nurse.

Photograph, Frick Art Reference Library. Courtesy of Mr. Harry duPont.

PERRY HALL, A LATER VIEW BY GUY

Showing Mr. and Mrs. Gough with Mr. and Mrs. James Carroll and Their Four Children.

Photograph, Frick Art Reference Library. Courtesy of Mrs. F. Nelson Bolton.

PERRY HALL TODAY

As restored in 1826. The chimney at right is not shown in early views.

handsome set of pewter platters and dishes on display at Mount Clare. (Mr. Gough's only child, Sophia, married James Carroll of Mount Clare.)

A plat of Perry Hall estate drawn to scale by George Gouldsmith Presbury, surveyor, dated December 12, 1774, gives the acreage then as 1129 acres.[12] A small pen and ink drawing of the house which accompanies the plat, shows Perry Hall without balancing wings. These wings may have been added when the inside work of the house was being completed, but probably were not built until the end of the Revolutionary War, when the two terminal buildings were presumably put up. The west terminal building was a bath house and like the old Roman baths was lined with marble and contained a pool, a hot room and a steam room.[13] The east terminal building was a chapel which could accommodate as many as seventy-five earnest Methodists for Mr. Gough was a zealous member and exhorter in the Methodist church.

Rev. Thomas Coke who stayed at Perry Hall in December, 1784, recorded in his journal that he had a noble room to himself in the elegant mansion house Mr. Gough had lately built, and that Mr. Gough expected to go to Europe in the spring to buy furniture for the house.[14] This probably refers to the recently completed wings to Perry Hall for the house, we know, was built in 1773. Corroborating this are many items recorded for building materials in Gough's account book, 1782-83, at the Maryland Historical Society. Large quantities of brick appear in the ledger and also lime, planks, lathes, nails and 25,000 tiles—the red tile roof for the house no doubt. He employed a number of men at day's wages who were probably skilled artisans in their trades. John Rawlins was paid £ 394. 10. 11 for ornamenting and plastering the ceiling at Perry Hall—a sum equivalent to at least $4,000 today.

In 1785 George Washington wrote to his friend Col. Tench Tilghman of Baltimore that he had engaged Mr. Rawlins, who had done much work for Mr. Gough, to make a design for the decoration of the banquet hall at Mount Vernon.[15] Washington

[12] On view at Mount Clare.

[13] The bath house, later used as an office, remained until 1916. Seen and described by J. Alexis Shriver, Esq.

[14] Quoted in *Baltimore Methodism and the General Conference of 1908* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Missionary and Church Extension Society, 1908) p. 39.

[15] *Writings of George Washington* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, XXVIII, 330-35, 369.

later sent Rawlins' plan and estimate to Col. Tilghman and asked him to compare it with the work done for Mr. Gough and to ask Gough's opinion of the charge which Washington considered high, as "most of the work is cast and as easily done as lead run into a mould." Rawlins received the contract and employed Richard Tharpe to execute the work. The banquet hall at Mount Vernon with its elaborate ceiling and fine frieze in Adam style is considered one of the handsomest rooms of that period remaining today.

Although Methodism was brought to Maryland by Robert Strawbridge in the early 1760's it was not until 1773 that services were held in Baltimore. That year Francis Asbury was appointed to the Baltimore circuit and preached to ever-growing congregations and made many converts—Mrs. Gough among them. A quaint narrative records: "She came into the congregation as gay as a butterfly, but after hearing Mr. Asbury preach, left with the great deep of her heart broken up."[16] Mr. Gough was converted a few years later and for over thirty years Perry Hall was a notable center for Methodist gatherings and a favorite stopping place for Bishop Asbury and many itinerant preachers. It was under the friendly roof of Perry Hall that a number of preachers assembled in December, 1784, before they rode to Baltimore to attend the Christmas Conference at Lovely Lane Meeting House, where the Methodist Church in America was organized and Francis Asbury chosen first Bishop.[17] An engraving of the ordination of Bishop Asbury is at the Maryland Historical Society. The accompanying key identifies Mr. and Mrs. Gough seated prominently in the front row at the Meeting House.

From the carefully kept diary of Bishop Asbury who stayed at Perry Hall many times and from the writings of other preachers who stopped there we catch glimpses of everyday life at Perry Hall.[18] The Rev. Henry Smith who visited Perry Hall in 1806 tells of the bell in the chapel which was rung for morning and evening prayers.[19] These services were attended by all the members

[16] John Lednum, *History of the Rise of Methodism in America* (Philadelphia, 1862) p. 156.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[18] *Journal of Francis Asbury*, 3 vols. (New York: Eaton & Mains, n. d.).

[19] Towson, *Jeffersonian*, August 22, 1931. Article on Perry Hall largely taken from a manuscript history of Camp Chapel by Robert Hooper which quotes from Rev. Henry Smith, *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant,* edited by

of the household, the manager of the estate and the many servants on the place. The Methodist church did not approve of slavery and though at one time Mr. Gough is said to have owned 300 slaves a tax assessment book of Baltimore County, 1798, credits him with only eleven. Slaves between the ages of 12 and 50 were taxable at that date. Manumission records at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, show that Mr. Gough manumitted "sundry slaves" in 1780.

From Mr. Smith's reminiscences we learn of the coach drawn by four splendid white horses which was used by the ladies of the household. Bishop Asbury tells of visiting the Goughs in the summer of 1776 on their excursion to Warm Springs, Va. He stayed there more than a month as their guest, but it was not an entirely happy month for Asbury felt the place was too worldly, but admitted he was greatly benefited by his stay.

We are told by John Lednum that little Sophia Gough was brought up so strictly she had never seen a pack of playing cards till she visited a friend's home. Eager to be helpful when asked to cut the cards she looked for a pair of scissors. She was educated at home by a governess who instructed her in "every useful and ornamental Branch of Education, except Dancing." "Religion" is said to have come to the young girl as she played the piano and sang "Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing." [20] As no musical instrument is listed in the inventory of the "Music Room" at Perry Hall, made after Mr. Gough's death, we conclude the piano was sent to Mount Clare after her marriage to James Carroll.

Her rare bookplate, "Sophia Gough, Perry-Hall, 1786," may be seen in a book now at Mount Clare—*Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*, by Dr. Young.[21] The printed date proves the bookplate was made the year before her marriage to James Carroll which took place at Perry Hall on December 20, 1787, a few months after the bride had passed her fifteenth birthday.[22] The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Levi Heath of the

George Peck (New York, 1848). Mr. Smith, long a resident of Maryland, died at his home at Hookstown, near Baltimore, December 9, 1862.

[20] Lednum, *A History of Methodism in America*, p. 157, quotes from *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant.*

[21] The bookplates of Sophia and Prudence Gough, James Carroll and four varieties of bookplates used by Harry Gough Carroll are in the bookplate collection of the Maryland Historical Society.

[22] St. Paul's P. E. Church, Baltimore, Records.

Protestant Episcopal Church at Joppa. Mr. Gough was at one time known as a "backslider" in the Methodist church and was expelled from the church for a while. Possibly he was not in good standing at this time which would account for the rector of an Episcopal church officiating. Mr. Gough was "re-converted" to the Methodist Church in the great revival of 1800-01 and was a prominent member of that Church till his death.[23]

After Mr. Gough's first conversion to Methodism we hear no more about his interest in the race track or his race horses. "Sterling," a fine black stallion which he advertised several times as standing at Perry Hall, was a coach horse of superior breed.[24] As the Methodist church forbade gambling, card playing and dancing, the usual pastimes of that day, Mr. Gough's interest turned to horticultural and agricultural pursuits. In April, 1788, he advertised in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* for a gardener.

> I want to employ a complete gardener at Perry Hall, near Baltimore Town to undertake the management of a spacious, elegant garden and orchard. To such a person I could give generous wages. I desire that no person apply but those that are masters of their profession.

It is no surprise to find that in 1786, Mr. Gough was elected the first president of the Society for the Encouragement and Improvement of Agriculture in Maryland, formed that year.[25] He was one of the few people in Maryland who were interested in improving their live stock by the importation of foreign strains. On October 21, 1788, he advertised in the *Maryland Journal* a sale at Perry Hall of several fine young bulls from his imported English cattle and some fine half bloods with sundry mares and colts of the blooded and dray breed. The stock was to be sold for "Cash only." The day following the sale he announced in the newspaper that two of his bull calves had been weighed—one which was fourteen weeks and four days old weighed 420 lbs., the other, 2 weeks older, weighed 432 lbs. Richard Parkinson, an English agriculturist, who from 1798 to 1800 rented Orange Hill, a farm on the Philadelphia Road near Baltimore, visited a number of country estates during his sojourn in Maryland—Perry

[23] Lednum, *History of Methodism in America*, p. 155.
[24] *Maryland Journal*, Feb. 27, 1775.
[25] *Maryland Journal*, March 28, 1786, p. 2, col. 2-3.

Hall among them.[26] He wrote that everything there was done very well and intelligently but he did not consider Gough a good judge of cattle as he laid too much stress on size.

Mr. Gough also imported broad-tailed Persian sheep and the Cape variety which were considered better for mutton than wool. From a letter written in 1792 by President Washington, then in residence in Philadelphia, we learn that he had received a present of some very superior mutton from Mr. Gough.[27] Evidently the President remembered it with pleasure, for after his return to Mount Vernon in 1797 he tried to purchase a ram and a couple of ewes as well as a young bull of Mr. Gough's imported stock. Mr. Washington thought Gough's charges very high—$200 for a bull calf—but the following year accepted one as a present.[28]

The foregound of one of Francis Guy's paintings of Perry Hall is a pastoral scene. South of the house is a vast meadow; sheep and cattle are grazing near a little pond; plough horses are at work near by. Two ladies, presumably Mrs. Gough and her daughter, Mrs. Carroll, converse with a gentleman, probably James Carroll, who waves his hand to Mr. Gough, mounted on a spirited horse. Two little boys with their colored nurse completed the group.

Another of Guy's landscape views of Perry Hall was obviously painted at a later date, for much planting has been done. A low white picket fence with an elaborate gate encloses a wide terrace in front of the house. Below the steep bank of the terrace are grouped plantings of trees. Strolling in the meadow foreground are four fashionably attired adults; the two gentlemen hold parasols over the ladies' heads. Two young lads are playing with a dog and a little girl holds a younger child by the hand. Presumably the Carrolls were again visiting at Perry Hall. They had four sons and a daughter who often stayed with their grandparents.

In the foreground of the third picture of Perry Hall by Guy, the master of the estate with his two older grandsons and Negro servant are all mounted on horseback. The owner, Mr. Walter M. Jeffords, of Media, Pennsylvania, states that the painting shows the party out rabbit shooting.

Land records show that Mr. Gough added to his original purchase until he owned about 2,000 acres. The tax return for Bal-

[26] Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America, 1798-1800* (London, 1805), II, 287-90.
[27] Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), XXXI, 47.
[28] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 254, 377, 467.

timore County, 1798, assesses Perry Hall, the house and six outbuildings at $9,000, an outstanding valuation for those days when many houses were assessed at $1,000 and houses of consequence at $3,000.[29] The acreage of the estate and the value of the land is not included in this assessment. Hampton, the home of the Ridgely family, and " three inferior houses " on the estate, were assessed at $12,000 that year. The comparative valuation of these two fine country seats aids somewhat in trying to visualize Perry Hall in its prime.

Bishop Asbury's last visit to Perry Hall was in the spring of 1805. ". . . the house newly painted and the little grandchildren gay and playful but I and the elders of the household felt it was evening with us." The good bishop was with his old friend when the latter died at his city residence in May, 1808, and he preached the sermon at Harry Gough's funeral. One account says the funeral was attended by nearly two thousand people and that many followed the funeral procession to the edge of the city. Mr. Gough was buried in the family burial ground at Perry Hall, of which no trace is found today.

By his will Perry Hall was left to his wife for her life time, then to their daughter, Mrs. James Carroll, in trust for her second son, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll (1795-1866).[30] Mrs. Carroll died in 1816. Mrs. Gough continued to live at Perry Hall during the summer months until her death in 1822.

In the inventory of the contents of Mr. Gough's city residence in Front Street, Old Town, made after his death " 6 Oyle landscape paintings " are listed. Five paintings were valued at $5 each and one at $10. Undoubtedly three of these were the views of Perry Hall painted by Francis Guy.[31]

The inventory of Perry Hall made in 1808-11 lists the contents of each room in the house: on the first floor the Drawing Room, Dining Room, Music Room, Best Lodging Room, Hall, Office and Chapel; on the second floor the Portico Chamber, Mrs. Gough's Room, the Red Room and the Preacher's Room. The contents of " Miss Anna's Room and Miss Hannah's Room " are listed as well as " Mollie's Room and Pantry." The garret was evidently used

[29] Tax Assessments, Baltimore Co., Maryland Historical Society; duplicate at City Hall Archives, #585 (1798).
[30] Wills, #8, f. 315, Baltimore City Court House.
[31] Gough Administration Book II, Maryland Historical Society.

as a vast storage place for linen, quilts, sheets, etc., including a tin bathing machine. In the cellar were 93 empty hogsheads and 5 hogsheads of apple brandy valued at $200. The outbuildings consisted of the kitchen, wash house, paint shop, blacksmith shop, cooper's shop and the house of the overseer, the stable with " coachee and chariott." Innumerable " servants " were listed and 9 slaves. Included in the inventory were horses, cattle, oxen, sheep, sows and shoats. The total valuation of the goods and chattels at Perry Hall amounted to $10,732.[32]

The wedding of Mrs. Gough's nephew, John Ridgely, to her granddaughter, Prudence Gough Carroll, took place at Perry Hall in the summer of 1812. Mrs. Ridgely died in 1822 before her husband inherited Hampton. The previous year James Carroll, Jr. the eldest of the Carroll children, married his cousin Achsah Ridgely and in 1815 Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll married Eliza Ridgely, a younger sister—three marriages, we surmise, that were very satisfying to Grandmother Gough and her brother Gen. Charles Ridgely, for they kept Hampton, Mount Clare, and Perry Hall in the family. Eighteen children were born of these three marriages between the Carroll and Ridgely families but fourteen children died " young." Infant mortality ran high in those unenlightened days.

After Mrs. Gough's death Perry Hall became the summer home of her grandson, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll. From his carefully kept expense accounts, 1819-26, we judge life for the young Harry Carrolls was very similar to that of many young married people today. He gave Mrs. Carroll cash for marketing—but what a difference in prices—paid for her new hats and dresses and the childrens' clothes; bought Christmas gifts and toys for his children. Their nurse was paid $5 a month but at Mrs. Carroll's request her wages were raised to $6. They went to the circus, to the theater and to concerts and one summer they took a trip to Cape May.

One page marked Cash Account, Perry Hall, November, 1826, is of special interest for listed are 2530 feet of plank, laths, nails, window glass, 500 shingles; a lock for the front door and for painting the dwelling.[33] Undoubtedly these were for repairs made after the fire which destroyed a portion of the house.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Ledger on deposit at Mount Clare.

The Carrolls had six children, five of whom died in childhood. The death of an infant daughter at Perry Hall in August, 1826, is recorded in the family Bible of Harry D. G. Carroll now at the Maryland Historical Society. The sole survivor was the second son, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Jr. (1819-1882) Mrs. Carroll died in 1828 and whether Mr. Carroll continued to live at Perry Hall after her death is not known. Dennis A. Smith was "manager" at Perry Hall in 1822 and was still managing the estate in 1833, for he is mentioned as such in the will of Mrs. Eliza (Carnan) Onion, great-aunt to Harry D. G. Carroll, who left Mrs. Hannah Smith a feather bed and six chairs. Mr. Carroll received the residue of her estate and was named executor.[34]

A resurvey of Perry Hall made for Harry Carroll in 1847 shows that he owned 1,314 acres at that time.[35] In 1852 he sold nearly 900 acres and the house to William M. Meredith of Philadelphia for $22,000. The property has changed hands several times since and much of the land has been sold off in small portions. Perry Hall estate today contains slightly over 200 acres.[36]

If curiosity impels one to visit Perry Hall one finds the house at the end of a narrow winding road a third of a mile or so west of the road to Bel Air. It stands on a wide plateau where there is a rewarding view to the south and east. The house which faces south is large but lacks distinction. It is yellow stucco, two stories high with two dormer windows in both fronts of the high attic. Attached to the west end of the house is a two story wing, almost as large as the house.

The wooden entrance porch, at the east end of the front of the house, is reached by thirteen steps, so high is the house above the ground. Over the wide entrance doorway with double doors is a large fanlight; tall windows on either side of the door give light to a great hall which runs the depth of the house from the front door to an identical door on the north side of the house. This hall measures 20 feet wide by 40 feet long with a ceiling about 12 feet high. Opening on the west side of the hall are two large parlors with lofty ceilings. The dining room is in the wing. The present trim and cornices of these rooms are in Greek Revival style. The

[34] Wills, #14, f. 490, Baltimore City Court House.
[35] Deeds, #2, f. 181, Baltimore County Court House, Towson.
[36] Owned today by Mr. G. R. Bryson. The house is not open to sightseers.

stair case is in a small hall which opens off the great hall near the north door. All told there are sixteen rooms in Perry Hall today.

Perry Hall is not a proud house today. Steps and columns are missing from the long piazza (modern) which runs the length of the north side of the house and across the east end. Here and there where stucco has fallen brick walls are exposed. These walls are unmistakably the original walls of the house which Harry Dorsey Gough purchased in 1774.

The fire which is said to have demolished the house actually destroyed all of the east wing and part of the main house. The major portion of the house remained standing. The interior of the house was undoubtedly destroyed but the brick partition walls were used again to restore this part of it. Perry Hall of today lacks the beautiful balance and perfect symmetry of the old house for the east wing and the large rooms east of the wide hall which formerly ran through the center of the house were not rebuilt.

From the attic of the wing one can plainly see the original west wall of the old house, finely laid in Flemish bond. Visible too on this wall is the low roof line of the original wing of one story. A second story was added to this wing after the fire to offset the rooms which were destroyed. The old kitchen in the basement of the wing is no longer used but the huge fireplace with swinging crane gives evidence of its age. At the south side of the basement is a vaulted brick stairway of seven or more steps which leads to the cellar under the main house. The steps are so wide that legend says an ox cart laden with casks of wine could be driven down them for unloading. Legend also tells of a well in a sub-cellar which was used for cooling wines and melons.

The sturdily built cellar which measures approximately 45 x 45 feet is as " good and dry " today as when it was built by Corbin Lee. The walls of the cellar are stone. Windows set well above the ground level give ample light to the three rooms in the cellar. The brick partition walls of these rooms are carried up through the house to the attic. The ceiling of the cellar is about twelve feet high with hand hewn beams. Between the ceiling of the cellar and the floor of the first story hall is a layer of plaster, known to architects as a counterseal. When it was laid or why is not known.

Since the present east chimney does not appear in the Guy

paintings, we must conclude that the great hall was without heat in winter. The chimney probably was added during the 1826 reconstruction. If this was the case, the central apartment or rooms on the second floor would also have been unheated.

The mantel of the fireplace in the hall is carved in the style of Adam. It is contemporary with the period when the house was built, but whether it and duplicate mantel in the present dining room were salvaged after the fire it is impossible to guess. The large locks on the doors of the bedrooms bear the maker's name—Carpenter—on a small metal disk attached to each lock. These are known to date from the 1820's. Apparently all that survives of the eighteenth century Perry Hall are the original brick walls now hidden by a camouflage of stucco.

JOSEPH NICHOLS AND THE NICHOLITES OF CAROLINE COUNTY, MARYLAND

By Kenneth Carroll

In the latter half of the eighteenth century there existed a religious sect called the Nicholites who professed much the same principles as Friends and ultimately were incorporated with them. For the most part this people lived in Caroline County, Maryland, although there were a few others along the Delaware border and in North Carolina.[1]

Joseph Nichols, the first preacher of this society, and the chief instrument in founding it, was born near Dover, Delware, in 1730 and engaged in husbandry in Kent County, Delaware. He was " endowed with strong powers of mind and a remarkable flow of spirits " but received very little formal education. His vivacity and humor caused his company to be much sought after, and on the First-day of the week and at other times of leisure many of his companions collected to share in his entertaining pastime.[2]

At one of these gatherings for pleasure, a close friend, who accompanied him, was taken ill and died suddenly at the place where they were assembed. The shock of this event is credited with awakening the attention of Joseph Nichols, " showing him the uncertainty of life " and bringing about a radical change in his character. " His mind became enlightened and inbued with heavenly truth, and being called to a holy life, he yielded obedience to the impression of divine grace." [3]

When his neighbors gathered around him as was their custom, seeking entertainment, he proposed that they should start spending their time more rationally than they had done before and that

[1] Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 554.

[2] Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, from its Rise to the Year 1828* (Philadelphia, 1867), III, 493. John M'Clintock ed., *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* (New York, 1891), III, 67-68 contains this same article.

[3] Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 493.

a portion of the Scripture should be read. Their meetings were gradually transformed from " scenes of mirth to seasons of serious thoughtfulness "—until at length he appeared among them as a preacher of righteousness.[4]

Although Nichols' home was in Delaware, the Eastern Shore of Maryland was his " stamping ground." He was the first man in his neighborhood to preach against slave-holding. Two members of the Nicholites, William Dawson and James Harris, were the first to emancipate their slaves. This was accomplished despite the assurance of Dawson and Harris by the public authorities of Maryland that the law of Maryland or of Delaware had no provisions for such emancipation.[5] The examples of these two made such an impression on their fellow-members that the testimony against slavery was incorporated in their Discipline; it became a disownable offence even to employ a slave.[6] Some of them, among whom was James Horney, were even more zealous and refused to eat with slave holders or to partake of the produce raised by slave labor.[7]

In his meetings Nichols sat in silence, as did the Friends or Quakers, until he believed himself called to preach. His meetings sometime ended in silence when he felt no such impulse. Often they were held under the shade of trees, sometimes in private houses, and occasionally in the meeting-houses of Friends. The testimony of the two groups against war, oaths, and a hireling ministry was identical. William Dawson was confined in the Cambridge jail, thirty miles from his place of residence, because of his testimony against a stipendiary ministry.[8]

Appealling to the Maryland Legislature, the Nicholites received permission to solemnize their marriages according to their own order and without the aid of a priest; also in judicial cases they were allowed the privilege of affirming instead of taking an oath. In this act they are termed " Nicholites or New Quakers," but the name they gave themselves was " Friends." [9]

The Quakers were in full sympathy, with one exception, with Joseph Nichols and frequently invited him to attend their meetings. Yet, at this time, they refused to accept his teaching condemning the holding of slaves. The matter had reached a

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 494.
[5] Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[6] *Loc. cit.*
[7] Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 495.
[8] *Loc. cit.*
[9] *Loc. cit.*

critical point in 1766 when John Woolman, accompanied by John Sleeper, made a visit to Maryland—going on foot through the Eastern Shore region (Woolman's decision to travel on foot had been brought about by his desire to come into closer sympathy with the slave in his life of labor). The Quakers, who earlier had refused to listen to Nichols, received the testimony of the two Quakers from New Jersey. The public records of this time in Maryland show a large number of resulting emancipations.[10]

As Nichols continued to hold meetings for worship, there occurred a noticeable change in the clothes and appearance of the people who were his followers. He insisted on the doctrine of self-denial—and the subjugation of every appetite or desire that would lead the soul away from God. Thus, in addition to their decided testimony against war, slavery oaths, and a stipendiary ministry, the Nicholites were remarkably plain in their dress and in their house-hold furniture. The women wore bonnets and the men hats, of undyed or natural, white wool. Their clothing was of the natural color, for they objected to dyeing cloth—"esteeming it a superfluous expense, calculated more for ostentation than true usefulness." [11]

Joseph Nichols was not permitted long to continue with the flock he had gathered. Isaac Martin, travelling among the Nicholites in 1794, wrote in his Journal that Joseph Nichols, the "first of this society," had been dead about twenty years.[12] "Having given evidence of his sincere piety by the practice of all the Christian virtues, he left a pure example that was encouraging to his survivors." Feeling the necessity of some organization, those who were convinced and proselyted by his ministry concluded to establish a regular order of Church discipline, which was brought into being about 1780. Even earlier, in 1774, the Nicholites had seen it advisable to collect and record the birth records of their children.[13] About this time several persons among them appeared

[10] Gummere, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

[11] Isaac Martin, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Labours, and Religious Exercises of Isaac Martin, Late of Rahway, in East Jersey Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 53. See also Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Elias Hicks, *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks* (New York, 1832), p. 62.

[12] Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[13] The volume containing the birth records, and also the sales of the Center and Northwest Fork meeting-houses, is in the vault of the Talbot County Register of Wills Office with other records of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends—placed there for safe keeping.

in the ministry. Ground was purchased and held by trustees for the use of the Society, and three meeting houses were built—all in Caroline County, Maryland. Here were held meetings for divine worship on First-days and in the middle of the week. In addition, they also held meetings for discipline once a month, adopting rules for government similar to those established in the Society of Friends.[14]

After an existence of some twenty years, some of the more discerning members of the Nicholite society thought that it would be of mutual advantage if a juncture with the Society of Friends could be effected. Many travelling Friends had visited them and had been received very warmly. Martin in 1794, Martha Routh in 1796, Jordan in 1797, Hicks in 1798, and others travelled and preached among the Nicholites.[15] The Nicholites read Friends' books, held social intercourse with them, and found that the two societies were one in the vital fundamental principles of their profession. Some of the members, especially the young, felt that the strict discipline adopted by the Nicholites was too strait; they longed for greater freedom and indulged themselves in wearing garments of dyed materials. James Harris, one of the oldest and most valued members of the Nicholites, and a minister among them, was among those who desired a union with the Society of Friends. His suggestions at first were met by general opposition—particularly from those who were the most strict in observing the rule of plainness in dress. A proposition was made at their yearly meeting to unite themselves with the Friends but was defeated. More than a year later it was brought forth again. After several more attempts, with the opposition becoming less each time, it was proposed that those who were prepared to unite with the Society of Friends should do so; the others were to continue as they were.

When the proposition was laid before the Monthly Meeting at Third Haven (Easton), a committee was appointed to meet with the applicants collectively and " treat the matter with them as way may open, as to the grounds of their request; and report of their

[14] Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 496.

[15] See Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55; Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Martha Routh, *Memoirs of the Life, Travels and Religious Experience of Martha Routh, Written by Herself or Compiled From Her Own Narrative* (York,1824), p. 174; Richard Jordan, *A Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Richard Jordan, A Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends, Late of Newton, In Gloucester County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 30.

situation and state of unity in regard thereof to our next meeting." [16] The result was that nearly all who made application, about four hundred including the children, were received into membership.

Those who left the Society of Nicholites felt that they had surrendered all right to their meeting houses, but those who were left felt otherwise. They wished that they should all continue to worship together as they had done previously. Thus they continued to worship together on First-days, in perfect harmony and love, but the mid-week meetings were held on different days because of their separate meetings for discipline. After a period of time, which allowed the remaining Nicholites to see the effect of the union, finding that their apprehensions were not realized, and that those had had united themselves with Friends continued to be "plain, self-denying, and upright in conduct," the others concluded to follow their example, and were received into membership with Friends.[17] In 1799 and 1802, prior to the dissolution of their society, the three meeting-houses in Caroline County—Centre, Tuckahoe Neck, and Northwest Fork—were transfered by the Nicholites to the Society of Friends. Among the Nicholites who joined the Society of Friends was Elisha Dawson, afterwards extensively known, and highly esteemed among the Friends as a minister of the Gospel.[18]

NICHOLITE BIRTH RECORDS.

Aaron Bishop	son of Robert and Elendor	b. 11/23/1769
James "	" " " " "	b. 8/14/1771
John "	" " " " "	b. 11/18/1773
Ann Harris	dau. of James and Mary	b. 12/ 9/1760
Esther "	" " " " "	b. 1/ 1/1763
Lydia "	" " " " "	b. 2/ 6/1765
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 8/21/1767
Rhoda "	" " " " "	b. 4/ 4/1772
Peter "	son " " " "	b. 4/ 5/1774

[16] Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 498.
[17] *Loc. cit.*
[18] In all printed references to Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites the name is spelled NICHOLS, but the records of the society spell it NICOLS.

Alice Holbrook	dau. of Alexander and Sarah	b. 10/ 4/1761
William "	son " " " "	b. 11/27/1763
Frederick "	" " " " "	b. 3/27/1766
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 7/ 6/1770
Ann Covey	dau. of Noble and Rachel	b. 3/10/1764
Rebeca "	" " " " "	b. 4/10/1766
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 11/11/1771
Rachel "	" " " " "	b. 11/ 5/1774
Soloman Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 3/ 4/1772
John "	" " " " "	b. 12/18/1773
Joseph Sulivane	son of Daniel and Margaret	b. 1/13/1771
Owen "	" " " " "	b. 3/ 4/1772
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 11/11/1773
Mary Linager	dau. of Isaac and Rosanna	b. 10/ 1/1769
Elizabeth "	" " " " "	b. 4/10/1771
James "	son " " " "	b. 12/26/1773
Daniel Leverton	son of Moses and Ann	b. 3/29/1770
Isaac "	" " " " "	b. 2/ 7/1772
Jacob "	" " " " "	b. 3/10/1774
Rhoda Nicols [18]	dau. of Joseph and Mary	b. 3/ 8/1756
Isaac "	son " " " "	b. 1/22/1758
Rachel "	dau. " " " "	b. 9/ 5/1763
Daniel Goslin	son of Ezekiel and Marget	b. 6/22/1769
Esther "	dau. " " " "	b. 11/22/1772
Sarah Morriston	dau. of John and Comfort	b. 10/28/1756
Mary "	" " " " "	b. 3/31/1758
Temperance "	" " " " "	b. 7/25/1760
George "	son " " " "	b. 7/25/1763
Comfort "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/ 6/1765
Robinson "	son " " " "	b. 6/25/1770
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " "	b. 10/20/1771
John "	son " " " "	b. 7/ 1/1773
Thomas Foster	son of Joseph and Mary	b. 9/23/1757
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " "	b. 8/22/1763
Anna "	" " " " "	b. 1/19/1769
Peter "	son " " " "	b. 9/ 1/1773
Isaac Linagear	son of Elizabeth	b. 4/10/1759
Milby Willis	son of Thomas and Sina	b. 8/ 7/1768
Anne "	dau. " " " "	b. 12/ 5/1770
William "	son " " " "	b. 9/20/1771
Jesse "	" " " " "	b. 2/15/1773
Joshua "	" " " " "	b. 12/15/1774

Rhoda Willis	dau. of Andrew and Sarah	b. 5/18/1766
Roger "	son " " " "	b. 5/14/1768
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 12/ 5/1770
Shadrick "	son " " " "	b. 5/15/1772
Andrew "	" " " " "	b. 11/ 3/1774
Mary Chilcut	dau. of Joshua and Esther	b. 12/ 8/1764
Cloe "	" " " " "	b. 11/16/1766
Rhoda "	" " " " "	b. 10/14/1770
Celia "	" " " " "	b. 9/23/1772
Esther "	" " " " "	b. 7/30/1774
Leven Wright	son of Roger and Mary	b. 12/27/1757
James "	" " " " "	b. 12/ 3/1760
Selah "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/17/1766
Hatfield "	son " " " "	b. 3/11/1769
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/31/1773
Lovey Charles	dau. of Solomon and Sarah	b. 5/ 2/1762
John "	son " " " "	b. 11/ 8/1763
Levin "	" " " " "	b. 1/ 1/1766
Nuton "	" " " " "	b. 3/24/1768
Solomon "	" " " " "	b. 10/22/1770
Esther Addams	dau. of Daniel and Sarah	b. 8/ /1766
Jacob Charles	son of Isaac and Ann	b. 7/ 1/1768
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 9/17/1773
Levin Frampton	son of Thomas and Ann	b. 7/ 1/1765
Hubird "	" " " " "	b. 8/ 4/1768
Thomas Cromeen	son of Elijah and Sarah	b. 4/11/1768
Levin "	" " " " "	b. 10/29/1769
Elijah "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 2/1771
Lovey "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/20/1773
James "	son " " " "	b. 12/27/1775
Ruben Charles	son of William and Leah	b. 4/20/1771
Isaac "	" " " " "	b. 11/15/1773
Mary Richardson	dau. of John and Elizabeth	b. 11/17/1775
Littelton Berry	son of William and Naomi	b. 1/18/1758
Delilah "	dau. " " " "	b. 7/21/1759
Adar "	" " " " "	b. 5/30/1762
Liddy Batchelder	dau. of John and Eleanor	b. 2/10/1773
William "	son " " " "	b. 7/27/1775
Sarah Eccles	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 11/ 3/1758
Mary "	" " " " "	b. 4/16/1761
John "	son " " " "	b. 6/21/1763
Anthony "	" " " " "	b. 12/ 7/1765
Anna "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/20/1771

Richard "	son of Richard and Ann	b. 3/ 5/1773
Lydda "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/18/1776
Sarah Wright	dau. of Lemuel and Elizabeth	b. 11/18/1762
Daniel "	son " " " "	b. 6/24/1764
Rachel "	dau. " " " "	b. 10/ 2/1767
Jacob "	son " " " "	b. 9/22/1770
Ann "	dau. " " " "	b. 1/22/1772
Mary Sulivane	dau. of Daniel and Marget	b. 12/27/1775
Mary Foster	dau. of Joseph and Mary	b. 5/14/1776
Thomas Willis	son of Thomas and Sina	b. 10/28/1776
Ann Kelley	dau. of William and Mary	b. 3/22/1762
Dennis "	son " " " "	b. 2/ 6/1764
William "	" " " " "	b. 1/20/1766
John "	" " " " "	b. 9/12/1768
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 11/14/1770
Elizabeth "	" " " " "	b. 8/21/1774
Hix "	son " " " "	b. 6/14/1776
Jacob Charles	son of William and Leah	b. 5/17/1776
Rachel Bishop	dau. of Robert and Elenor	b. 1/31/1776
Aron Carner	son of Joshua and Marget	b. 4/22/1761
Phebe Chilcutt	dau. of Joshua and Esther	b. 2/ 1/1778
Peter Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 12/ 8/1777
Mary Bishop	dau. of Robert and Eleanor	b. 5/31/1778
John Warren	son of William and Prisilla	b. 1/ 5/1759
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " Marget	b. 11/ 3/1765
Johnson "	son " " " "	b. 9/26/1767
Lidy "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/21/1769
Amos "	son " " " "	b. 4/ 3/1771
Baly "	" " " " "	b. 4/14/1773
William "	" " " " "	b. 4/22/1776
Lily "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/25/1777
James Stanton	son of Thomas and Mary	b. 7/14/1778
Robinson Stevens	son of Azel and Rebekah	b. 9/22/1773
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 2/ 5/1775
William "	" " " " "	b. 2/13/1777
Esther Eccles	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 8/ 5/1778
John Jester	son of Ebenezer and Sarah	b. 1/18/1776
Jehu "	" " " " "	b. 4/20/1777

Lavisa Williams	dau. of John and Sarah	b. 6/ 1/1765
Bartholomew "	son " " " "	b. 10/ 5/1767
Rachael "	dau. " " " "	b. 10/17/1770
John "	son " " " "	b. 1/ 3/1774
Newell "	" " " " "	b. 9/28/1776
Isaac Charles	son of Isaac and Ann	b. 10/ 4/1775
Rhoda Leverton	dau. of Moses and Ann	b. 2/ 9/1779
Joseph Cromeen	son of Elijah and Sarah	b. 11/26/1778
Sarah Sulavane	dau. of Daniel and Marget	b. 1/ 7/1777
Joshua Jester	son of Ebenezer and Sarah	b. 3/ 4/1780
Peter Chilcutt	son of Joshua and Esther	b. 4/12/1780
Ann Stevens	dau. of William and Mary	b. 10/ 1/1765
Jonathan "	son " " " "	b. 3/21/1768
James "	" " " " "	b. 9/24/1770
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/ 5/1773
Mary "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 8/1775
Rachael "	" " " " "	b. 2/18/1778
James Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 2/28/1780
Joseph Man	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 5/17/1779
Peter Kelley	son of William and Mary	b. 6/ 1/1779
Naomi Mason	dau. of Abraham and Sarah	b. 7/29/1770
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 11/21/1771
Reubin "	son " " " "	b. 5/27/1773
Rhoda "	dau. " " " "	b. 8/ 6/1775
Lydia "	" " " " "	b. 6/16/1779
Arminta Russel	dau. of Elijah and Esther	b. 2/14/1781
Joshua Smith	son of Joshua and Ann	b. 10/10/1769
Ann "	dau. " " " "	b. 11/31/1771
Daniel "	son " " " "	b. 3/22/1777
Caleb "	" " " " "	b. 5/ 3/1780
Jesse Leverton	son of Moses and Ann	b. 1/24/1781
Caleb Charles	son of Isaac and Saphier	b. 4/12/1780
Mary Vichers	dau. of John and Mary	b. 10/14/1766
Richard "	son " " " "	b. 4/13/1768
Joseph "	" " " " "	b. 4/12/1773
Nathan "	" " " " "	b. 8/12/1775
John "	" " " " "	b. 11/12/1770
William Bishop	son of Robert and Elenor	b. 12/17/1780
Sarah Evitts	dau. of Seth Hill and Naomi	b. 6/13/1779
Sarah Richardson	dau. of John and Elizabeth	b. 5/26/1782

John Chilcutt	son of Joshua and Esther	b. 4/29/1782
John Batchelor	son of John and Elenor	b. 12/16/1781
Mary Harris	dau. of William and Ann	b. 10/27/1756
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 11/17/1758
James "	son " " " "	b. 11/15/1761
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " "	b. 6/ 6/1764
Rachael "	" " " " "	b. 3/27/1767
Ann "	" " " " "	b. 3/ 4/1769
Lydia "	" " " " "	b. 1/ 4/1771
Jeane "	" " " " "	b. 2/ 5/1775
William "	son " " " "	b. 5/29/1777
Isaac "	" " " " "	b. 11/26/1779
John "	" " " " "	b. 11/ 1/1781
Lydia Jester	dau. of Ebenezar and Sarah	b. 7/24/1782
Julana Eccles	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 3/14/1781
Mary Warren	dau. of William and Margaret	b. 2/20/1782
Isaac Frampton	son of William and Margaret	b. 7/28/1782
Margaret Hubbert	dau. of Jesse and Priscilla	b. 6/ 6/1770
Edward "	son " " " "	b. 3/ 1/1773
Nicee "	dau. " " " "	b. 10/20/1776
Peter "	son " " " "	b. 10/21/1778
Tilghman "	" " " " "	b. 7/12/1781
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/16/1783
Anne Ward	dau. of Henry and Mary	b. 7/11/1768
Daniel "	son " " " "	b. 4/19/1770
Henry "	" " " " "	b. 7/20/1772
James "	" " " " "	b. 2/18/1774
Richard "	" " " " "	b. 6/ 1/1776
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 6/ 8/1778
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 11/22/1781
Rachel Russell	dau. of Elijah and Esther	b. 2/16/1776
Nathan "	son " " " "	b. 6/13/1778
James Walker	son of John and Ariminta	b. 8/ 4/1775
John "	" " " " "	b. 3/24/1779
Mary Harvey	dau. of John and Sophia	b. 5/ 4/1774
Samuel "	son " " " "	b. 1/15/1777
John "	" " " " "	b. 12/ 4/1779
Celia "	dau. " " " "	b. 6/ 5/1782
Rhoda "	" " " " "	b. 11/ 2/1783
Rhoda Warren	dau. of William and Margaret	b. 11/ 2/1783
Ann Evitts	dau. of Seth Hill and Naomi	b. 11/ 9/1783
Mary Mason	dau. of Abraham and Sarah	b. 12/20/1782

Peter Jinkens	son of Richard and Ann	b. 5/28/1781
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/15/1784
Ann Barton	dau. of William and Elizabeth	b. 1/12/1783
Arimenta Bishop	dau. of Robert and Elenor	b. 5/ 2/1783
Joseph Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 7/ 7/1784
Milley Willis	dau. of Thomas and Sinai	b. 2/ 3/1784
Willis Charles	son of Jacob and Euphama	b. 3/13/1766
Henry "	" " " " "	b. 7/ 9/1768
Eufama "	dau. " " " "	b. 3/26/1773
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 4/25/1775
Jacob "	son " " " "	b. 7/15/1780
Elijah "	" " " " "	b. 8/28/1770
Martin Kelley	son of William and Mary	b. 5 /11/1784
Anna Chilcutt	dau. of Joshua and Esther	b. 6/23/1784
Rhoda Stevens	dau. of William and Mary	b. 7/ 4/1784
William Charles	son of Isaac and Sophia	b. 5/17/1783
Nathan Jester	son of Ebenezar and Sarah	b. 7/20/1784
Levin Pool	son of John and Anna	b. 8/ 4/1776
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/26/1778
Isaac "	son " " " "	b. 8/ 2/1779
Noddy "	" " " " "	b. 3/15/1782
John "	" " " " "	b. 7/22/1784
Margaret Sullivane	dau. of Daniel and Margaret	b. 11/24/1779
Isaac "	son " " " "	b. 10/29/1781
John "	" " " " "	b. 12/24/1783
John Wright	son of William and Sarah	b. 3/ 9/1763
Anna Gray	dau. of William and Elisabeth	b. 3/13/1772
Lovey "	" " " " "	b. 8/ 1/1774
Perry "	son " " " "	b. 11/29/1777
Joseph "	" " " " "	b. 11/15/1779
Esther "	dau. " " " "	b. 9/23/1781
Elisabeth "	" " " " "	b. 7/13/1784
Elic Eccles	son of Richard and Ann	b. 11/20/1783
Sarah Poits	dau. of William and Henrietta	b. 11/28/1779
William "	son " " " "	b. 3/16/1781
Isaac "	" " " " "	b. 5/ 4/1782
Sarah Jenkins	dau. of Richard and Ann	b. 3/ 3/1785

Thomas Townsend	son of Benjamin and Elizabeth	b. 6/11/1772
Henry "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 4/1775
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 2/19/1778
Celia "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/13/1780
James Anderson	son of James and Ann	b. 8/16/1765
Isaac "	" " " " "	b. 8/ 6/1769
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 10/ 3/1771
Elijah "	" " " " "	b. 8/29/1773
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 1/ 6/1775
Major "	son " " " "	b. 11/27/1777
Elic "	" " " " "	b. 11/ 4/1783
Sarah Wright	dau. of John and Esther	b. 9/ 2/1785
James Barton	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 5/20/1785
Elic Willis	son of Thomas and Sinai	b. 2/ 1/1785
Sarah Leverton	dau. of Moses and Rachel	b. 1/25/1786
William Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 6/ 9/1786
Levin Harris	son of William and Ann	b. 2/21/1784
Lydia Gray	dau. of William and Eliz[a]	b. 7/11/1786
Levin Bishop	son of Robert and Eleanor	b. 8/22/1786
James Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 9/ 5/1786
Richard Jenkins	son of Richard and Ann	b. 4/ 4/1787
Eleanor Bishop	dau. of William and Sarah	b. 12/16/1773
Nathan "	son " " " "	b. 9/22/1775
Frances "	dau. " " " "	b. 3/ 3/1778
Sarah "	" " " " "	b. 3/15/1780
Mary "	" " " " "	b. 11/ 4/1783
William "	son " " " "	b. 9/15/1784
Lydia "	dau. " " " "	b. 1/15/1787
Mary Stanton	dau. of Thomas and Mary	b. 10/19/1781
John Barton	son of James and Mary Ann	b. 1/27/1783
Sarah "	dau. " " " " "	b. 7/23/1784
William "	son " " " " "	b. 10/ 1/1787
Mary Tumbleston	dau. of Ebenezar and Jane	b. 7/27/1776
Henry "	son " " " "	b. 9/25/1778
Peter Barton	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 4/29/1788
William Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 5/13/1788

Esther Ward	dau. of Henry and Mary	b. 9/18/1788
Lydia Stanton	dau. of Beachamp and Cloe	b. 9/17/1788
John Leverton	son of Moses and Rachel	b. 12/16/1787
Elizabeth Richardson	dau. of John and Elizabeth	b. 2/18/1789
William Gray	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 5/26/1789
Robert Bishop	son of William and Sarah	b. 12/12/1788
Thomas Barton	son of James and Mary	b. 11/18/1789
Mary Wilson	dau. of William and Hannah	b. 10/25/1768
Hannah "	" " " " "	b. 12/ 7/1772
John "	son " " " "	b. 5/ 1/1775
Ann "	dau. " " " "	b. 2/11/1778
William "	son " " " "	b. 2/25/1780
Rachel "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/24/1782
James "	son " " " "	b. 4/22/1770
Lemuel Leverton	son of Moses and Rachel	b. 2/ 5/1790
William Wheatley	son of Anthony and Sophia	b. 5/ 3/1781
Elizabeth "	dau. " " " "	b. 12/19/1784
Euphama "	" " " " "	b. 1/11/1786
Anthony "	son " " " "	b. 1/22/1791
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 9/24/1788
Byng Wheatley	son of William and Talitha	b. 6/18/1781
Thomas Richardson	son of John and Elizabeth	b. 11/28/1791
Rhoda Barton	dau. of William and Eliz[a]	b. 6/26/1791
Peter Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 2/27/1791
Sarah Gray	dau. of William and Eliz[a]	b. 3/10/1792
Rachel Ward	dau. of Henry and Mary	b. 11/6 /1790
Charles Leverton	son of Moses and Rachel	b. 2/12/1792
Frances Fisher	dau. of George H. and Rachel	b. 10/20/1765
John "	son " " " "	b. 2/17/1768
Levicey "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/22/1769
Daniel "	son " " " "	b. 6/21/1772
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 8/19/1774
Allifare "	" " " " "	b. 7/ 1/1779
George "	son " " " "	b. 4/ 4/1782
Robert "	" " " " "	b. 4/17/1784
Alexander "	" " " " "	b. 5/11/1786

Jane Barton	dau. of James and Mary Ann	b. 8/23/1792
Elizabeth "	" " " " " "	b. 8/23/1792
Lydia Barton	dau. of Edward and Ann	b. 12/29/1787
Andrew "	son " " " "	b. 12/ 2/1789
Levin "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 4/1791
Anna "	dau. " " " "	b. 4/11/1793
John Bishop	son of William and Sarah	b. 5/10/1791
James "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 4/1793
William Kelley	son of Dennis and Ann	b. 4/28/1791
Willis Wright	son of John and Esther	b. 5/13/1793
Rhoda Swiggett	dau. of Henry and Sarah	b. 8/14/1775
Levin "	son " " " "	b. 8/11/1777
Jacob Gray	son of William and Elizabeth	b. 6/21/1794
William Pool	son of John and Aney	b. 8/31/1794
Arthur Wheatley	son of Anthony and Sophia	b. 2/ 7/1794
Elizabeth Leverton	dau. of Moses and Rachel	b. 5/ 7/1794
Tristram Cromean	son of Elijah and Sarah	b. 11/26/1780
Beachamp "	" " " " "	b. 1/28/1782
Andrew "	" " " " "	b. 9/ 2/1783
Rhoda "	dau. " " " "	b. 1/ 3/1786
Blades "	son " " " "	b. 3/ 2/1788
Dorcas "	dau. " " " "	b. 3/ 2/1790
Isaac Wheatley	son of Anthony and Sophia	b. 6/21/1797
Rachel Leverton	dau. of Moses and Rachel	b. 11/ 2/1796
Sarah Stanton	dau. of Beauchamp and Deborah	b. 9/19/1792
Peter "	son " " " "	b. 8/30/1794
Mary "	dau. " " " "	b. 3/28/1797
Anna "	" " " " "	b. 7/12/1799
Charles Noble	son of Joshua and Sarah	b. 8/12/1798
Daniel "	" " " " "	b. 12/26/1799
John "	" " " " "	b. 10/26/1801
John Swiggett	son of Johnson and Mary	b. 9/17/1781
Henry "	" " " " "	b. 3/11/1783
Sarah "	dau. " " " "	b. 9/24/1785
Esther "	" " " " "	b. 4/11/1788
Mynta "	" " " " "	b. 4/13/1790
Solomon "	son " " " "	b. 1/30/1794
Adah "	dau. " " " "	b. 5/ 8/1797

Wright Charles	son of Willis and Sarah	b. 8/18/1788
Esther "	dau. " " " "	b. 12/14/1793
Daniel Dawson	son of Elisha and Lydia	b. 11/ 9/1786
Deborah "	dau. " " " "	b. 9/22/1789
William "	son " " " "	b. 3/29/1796

Following this apparent close of the Nicholite records, there is continued the listing of the children of Joshua and Sarah Noble:

Archabald Noble	b. 3/15/1803	d. 8/29/1804
Elizabeth "	b. 2/ 8/1807	
Lovy "	b. 7/13/1805	d. 5/28/1808
Solomon "	b. 5/ 3/1809	
Esther "	b. 5/ 3/1809	
James "	b. 4/30/1811	
Alexander "	b. 10/25/1812	
William "	b. 4/ 6/1815	d. 11/ 6/1817
Amelia "	b. 11/30/1816	
William "	b. 10/24/1818	
Twyfords "	b. 5/25/1820	

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Potomac. By FREDERICK GUTHEIM. Illustrated by Mitchell Jamieson. New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949. 436 pp. $4.00.

Those familiar with the "Rivers of America" series, of which Messrs. Hervey Allen and Carl Carmer are the general editors, do not have to be told that we have here one of the most ambitious efforts at collating local history yet undertaken by American publishers. The only comparable undertaking is the "Ports of America" series, sponsored by Doubleday, Doran in the late thirties.

The authors of the Rivers have incomparably the more difficult assignment, for they must concern themselves not with the flow of history alone, for which material is available in plenty, but also with complex matters of geography. This science has of late years become almost as inclusive as biology. Indeed, there are some of its practitioners who insist that it must include even biology.

Mr. Gutheim, perhaps because he has certain affiliations with journalism, has not shrunk from his assignment, difficult as it is. Here is the river which (*pace* the shades of our southern forebears) was fated to divide the agrarian, not to say feudal, civilization of the South from that of the expanding industrialism of the North. Even the circumstance that the gracious manorial system leapt across the estuarial reaches of the river into Maryland did not prevent the hard-bitten wheat, coal and iron system of the north from making the counter leap above the Great Falls. If the Potomac had been truly navigable above Washington, its story would have been vastly different. Indeed, if the Susquehanna at the same time had been navigable above Port Deposit, the history of the whole United States would have to be rewritten.

Such considerations as these were never absent from Mr. Gutheim's mind as he threaded his fascinating way through the convolutions of his historio-geographical material. His sense of advancing evil when, even before the adoption of the Federal constitution, the economic differences between Maryland and Virginia began to manifest themselves will be poignantly shared by every perceptive citizen of both States. The narrative of the gradual fading of the spirit—whatever it was—that made the Northern Neck of Virginia give birth to one of the noblest conceptions of human dignity which the mind of man has ever produced, will be as painful to every thoughtful Marylander as it clearly is to him. The Mount Vernon compact, on which we of late have been laying so much stress, was but the outward manifestation of a schism which may have begun when Baltimore ceased to be just another tobacco port on tide-

water and began that integration with the harsher northern culture which today dominates most of the nation.

Thus there is tragedy, in the Greek sense, in the tale which this sensitive and understanding author tells. The way of life from which George Mason distilled the ideas which Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence and which found their finest expression in the Bill of Rights, was after all an ephemeral product of the human soul. It could not have came into being in a different climate, or from a different soil than that of tidewater Virginia and Maryland. When the soil failed and the men who throve on it moved into the hill country to enter into competition with the more uncouth frontiersmen marching down the valleys from the north, they abandoned perforce their more delicate notions of human dignity and so were able to affect only slightly the newer culture.

It may be that in describing the theme of Mr. Gutheim's book in such sweeping terms, I am doing him an injustice. He is, after all, careful to keep his description of the human tides of the Potomac in carefully objective language. Like any other conscientious historian, he keeps himself out of it as far as may be. The begining of wheat growing in the Piedmont—along the banks of the Monocacy, the Conococheague and even the Shenandoah—is carefully if not lovingly recounted. The interminable experimentations with seed, with manures and with the ever-improving plow are told in detail that denotes long and painful research.

But it all comes to a climax, a tragic and bloody climax, in his description of the War Between the States, that futile effort of the civilization which only the Potomac could have produced, to hold out a little longer against its more vigorous and less sensitive rival. Even in his account of the growth of his own town, Washington, from its very beginnings, Mr. Gutheim never ignores the struggle with which his book so largely concerns itself. He obviously loves the capital and understands how it came to be what it is. But one senses that he, like most of us, wishes that the standards of tidewater Potomac could have been a little more vigorous, a little more persuasive to a material-minded world than they have turned out to be.

This is more an impression than a review of a shrewd and understanding book. I hope it will persuade a few Marylanders to read it and think about it.

HAMILTON OWENS.

Your Most Humble Servant. By SHIRLEY GRAHAM. New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1949. 235 pp. $3.00.

In this biography, Miss Graham, writing in a semi-fictional style, tells the story of Maryland's Benjamin Banneker—the Free Negro who thrived in the middle and latter years of the 18th century as clockmaker, astronomer, surveyor, almanac-compiler, author and landowner.

The Negro schools of Baltimore have paid some attention to this amazing man. But few citizens, Marylanders or otherwise, have ever heard

of him; to all but the most serious and thorough historians, his is a fleeting name. This, certainly, is due to the fact that information about him is scattered. In this book, Miss Graham brings it all together.

Banneker was freeborn, because one of his parents was free. His grandmother, an English dairy maid who served a period of indenture in the colony, carved out a farm near what is now Ellicott City, with the help of two slaves. One of them turned out to be an African prince named Bannaky; the dairy maid married him. The couple raised a daughter, and when the daughter came of age, they bought a slave for her to marry. Benjamin Banneker was the child of this marriage.

Through the good offices of a local Quaker named Peter Heinrich—who, confused by the boy's African surname, changed it to to Banneker—Benjamin acquired more than the basis of an education. The Quaker saw that he had a student on his hands, and encouraged his pupil to think and study. Benjamin had a bent for mathematics and science; after seeing a clock, he set to work and made one. It was the first clock to be made in Maryland, Miss Graham holds, and perhaps in America.

Banneker's early manhood was spent in farming and in repairing clocks. The full flowering of his talents, the author tells us, was slowed by a disastrous love affair. It was not until he reached his forties that he began to move forward.

He received recognition in Europe for his work in mathematics and astronomy, and recognition in his native land—the people for miles around Ellicott's Mills looked upon him as a genius for helping Andrew Ellicott and Major L'Enfant survey and plan Washington. When L'Enfant quit in a huff, the story goes, he took the plans along. But Banneker had them all in his head.

Banneker's real fame came in his lifetime from the almanacs he published yearly from 1792 to 1802. The few excerpts which Miss Graham has unearthed show that he must have been a man of gentle humour and keen intellect. His letters to Thomas Jefferson show that he was a man of dignity and horse sense. Some of these letters, plus those Jefferson wrote in return, are well worth the price of this book: every citizen interested in the theory and practice of democracy will enjoy them.

Although Miss Graham's book is occasionally reminiscent of a novel for high-schoolers, thereby rendering the reader a little suspicious of her facts, the drama of the man's life and accomplishments cannot help but make her book a stimulating one. As for the facts, though, she supplies a chapter of notes; her research appears to have been exhaustive, and the laymen, at least, can forgive that "certain gaps are filled with incidents of whose probability I am convinced . . . [they] illustrate character, reveal trends or bring actual facts into juxtaposition so as to emphasize them."

Benjamin Banneker has been nominated to New York University's Hall of Fame for Great Americans. After reading this book, those formerly unfamiliar with this important Marylander will wonder why the nomination has been so tardy.

WILLIAM STUMP

Richmond Portraits, In an Exhibition of Makers of Richmond 1737-1860. Introduction by LOUISE F. CATTERALL. Richmond, Va.: The Valentime Museum, 1949. 286 pp. $6.00.

This handsome book was the natural result of an exhibition of local portraits held at the Valentine Museum in November 1948. Stimulated by the success of Mr. Alexander W. Weddell's biographical history of Virginia carried out by a portrait exhibition in 1929, the Valentine Museum determined to duplicate the effort for the city of Richmond. While few of the subjects are nationally known, the collection traces the history of a prosperous town for nearly 150 years and creates a reference book that local historians and art critics will take pride in owning.

Richmond is one of the three or four older state capitals which has continued its earlier importance. It enjoyed a peaceful life granted to few of our ancient cities on the East coast. Unharmed by Indians, Redcoats, "bombs bursting in air," it was serene until that most tragic of all wars almost annihilated it. In its first hundred years business and politics progressed side by side. Eminent lawyers and law makers had no less eminent brothers in some of the great industries of the South. Tobacco, flour mills, the Tredegar Iron Works, factories and warehouses made wealthy families and wealthy families were prone to sit for their portraits.

From William Byrd, that cultivated and eccentric Colonel, the founder of Richmond, to Joseph Reid Anderson who did not die until 1892 is a long stretch of history and it is no wonder that there are definite gaps in subjects and portrait painters in the earlier period. Most of them fall into that golden age when individual effort and the pioneer spirit were crowned rapidly with success; when there were excellent itinerant artists and when Virginia could boast of peace, plenty and pulchritude; the first decades of the 19th century. Then it was that Richmond was the focal point for Society. County families came to town to introduce and marry their daughters. Sons from county plantations came to establish themselves in professions and business, or, perhaps, to serve a term or two in the legislature. The Governors and their entourages, the smart militia companies, the Music Society, the Jockey Club, the men and women who made conversation an art, all added glamor to city life.

As one reads the short biographies of these bestocked gentlemen and kerchiefed dames, two or three events stand out. The Burr trial brought together the greatest legal talent the young nation could muster. This was the first major operation on the body patriotic and Richmond was divided in its feeling for the accused but acquitted Aaron Burr. The second important event was the Theatre Fire of December 26, 1811 when the Governor and hundreds of leading citizens lost their lives. We feel the importance of being a vestryman, or even a pew holder, in the old Episcopal churches, of belonging to the Howitzers or the Blues and of having a speaking acquaintance with the venerable Marshall or the youthful Poe.

Aside from the charm of intimate history there is a practical value to this book as a check list and reference book of American portraiture. Well arranged, well illustrated and well indexed, it does great credit to its collaborators.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE.

The Department of State: a History of Its Organization, Procedure and Personnel. By GRAHAM H. STUART. Drawings by Gloria E. Anderson. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949. x, 517 pp. $7.50.

With the publication of *Department of State*, Professor Stuart has rendered a distinguished and valuable service to students of political science, government, history, diplomacy, and international affairs. There is no other book on the subject that is as thorough and reliable, and so well written as the present volume by Professor Stuart. His ripe scholarship, extensive training, and wide experience in foreign relations have all been put into the preparation of this study. Within the compass of a little more than 450 pages, the author skillfully presents a comprehensive history of American foreign relations beginning with 1781, when the bureau in charge of these matters was known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, with a secretary and two clerks, to the resignation of Secretary Marshall in January, 1949, when the complicated machinery and organization of the Department of State numbered a staff of about six thousand employees. The history of that growth and the thread of continuity in America's foreign relations are traced, analyzed, and discussed with great skill and acumen. In the first two hundred pages, that is, in less than half of the book, the author has condensed the history of the Department from the beginning to the year 1900 (covering a period of about 120 years); about one-fifth of the book (from pages 200 to page 309) is devoted to the work of the Department from 1900 to 1940 (a period of about forty years); about 150 pages deal with the incumbencies of Cordell Hull, James Byrnes, and George Marshall, that is, the period beginning with the Second World War. In other words, more than half of the volume is devoted to the last fifty years of the State Department. This arrangement seems satisfactory and quite logical, for the duties of the State Department have grown more and more complex and involved, and have quickened with the tempo of our civilization. Every phase of the work of the State Department is reviewed, e. g., the introduction and development of the filing system; the tasks and duties of the copyists and clerks; the several procedural improvements; the Louisiana purchase; the war of 1812; the Florida purchase and the Monroe doctrine; the census-taking; neutral rights; the establishment of the consular, diplomatic, and passport bureaus; the numerous extraneous activities of the Department, such as the Senate resolution directing the Secretary of State to ascertain and report the number of suits on the trial docket of each of the circuit courts of the United States; the new set of problems arising out of the Civil War; Webster's negotiations with Eng-

land over the *Caroline* affairs; the rôle of the Department in war and peace, including the part it played in the North African invasion; post war planning; the several reorganizations of the Department; the establishment of the office of foreign relations and rehabilitation operations; informational activities of the Department; the Foreign Relations Institute; the more recent problems including the question of Palestine and the Marshall plan. The author also gives the structure of the State Department at every stage of American history; he describes the duties performed by the various officers; he analyzes each of the secretaries, his personality, his policies, his principal acts, his relations with the Chief Executive and other government officers and how they agreed or disagreed; he summarizes briefly the contribution made by several secretaries to international law.

The notes are full and most helpful. An Appendix contains the presidents and the secretaries of state. The Index is adequate but not as full as it could be in a book that could also be used as a reference work.

HOWARD R. MARRARO.

Columbia University.

Virginia's State Government during the Second World War. By FRANCIS HOWARD HELLER. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1949. xvii, 203 pp.

This monograph is a skillful analysis of the problems which occurred when a state government with a long tradition of diversified governmental powers, a steadfast regard for the letter of the law, and a rather rigid Constitution participated in the nation's closest approach to total war. Under three broad headings—Constitutional Amendment, Legislative Enactments and Administrative Adjustments—the author shows that such emergency measures as suffrage for servicemen, restrictions on vehicular speeds, permission for dual officeholding, precautions against air raids, and adjustments in insurance laws, were, as a whole, handled little differently from the legislation of normal times. Delay and dispatch, ambiguity and clarity, politics and patriotism, all marked the functioning of Virginia's state government during the war period as, doubtlessly, they did in other states. The author's presentation of the methods by which Virginia adjusted to the emergency constitutes a valuable commentary on state government, and the fact that the discussion has applications to other states enhances its value. Despite the realization that some of Virginia's adjustments were not made without difficulty, one leaves the book with a renewed gratitude for the processes of democracy for, during the entire period, the federal government possessed sweeping emergency powers which, if applied in their entirety, might well have made state governments little more than agents for an all-embracing national government. One also must regard with anxiety the possibility that a truly total war might, in the uncertain future, actually reach the

shores of the United States with disastrous effect to the federal system. Mr. Heller closes his discussion with the statement that " if . . . Virginians desire to retain a democratic government, then it needs to be fashioned into an instrument of such vitality and resilience that it can withstand the stresses of war. Every minute devoted to the attainment of such a goal is a worthwhile investment and a contribution toward the security of free government." The point is obvious and the publication of such books as this one—well written in a popular style, devoid of the technical terminology of political science, and thoroughly documented—can only facilitate the task, if it is to be undertaken in fact.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE.

Old Cahokia. A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of its History. Edited by JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT and others. St. Louis: The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1949. 355 pp. $4.50 (cloth) and $3.00 (paper).

The motto of The St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation is " To make available the source materials from which the history of St. Louis and the West will be written." This first publication of the Joseph Deslogue Fund is an auspicious beginning of the enterprise. The volume is intended to focus attention on Cahokia in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding in 1699 when priests from Quebec built a chapel on the east bank of the Mississippi. For many decades Cahokia was the northernmost of the five French villages which formed an island of civilization in a vast wilderness, so that the printing of source materials on the settlement is a commendable service to students of the history of the region.

An introductory chapter traces the growth of " Cahokia and Its People " from the earliest days to the end of the eighteenth century, providing the broad picture into which the manuscripts may be placed. Then comes " The Founding of the Holy Family Mission and Its History in the Eighteenth Century," reproducing thirteen pertinent papers in chronological order. This is followed by " Life in Cahokia as Illustrated by Legal Documents, 1772-1821," including land records and inventories. " A Business Venture at Cahokia: The Letters of Charles Gratiot, 1778-1779 " sheds light on the activities of the French merchant who aided the American cause. " Affairs at Fort Bowman, 1778-1780: Accounts and Letters " relates largely to George Rogers Clark's efforts to annex the Illinois country to the United States. The remaining chapters set forth the Cahokia burial records for 1784-94, the correspondence of Dom Urban Guillet with the Bishop of Quebec, and two nineteenth century law cases which go back into the previous period in their subject matter.

The volume does not pretend to do more than to present source materials for the use of historians, and to this extent it accomplishes its

purpose. There is little cohesion in the papers selected and no single impression emerges from perusal of the varied materials. One hopes that these documents, and others which may be published subsequently, may be utilized in the writing of a full history of the Cahokia area. This is only a start in the exploration of a frontier section which has not yet received adequate attention.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Loyola College.

Records of Colonial Gloucester County, Virginia, Volume II. Compiled by POLLY CARY MASON. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Lithoprinted by Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1948. 150 pp. $5.00.

This volume is a posthumous publication presented to the public by the deceased author's husband, Mr. George C. Mason of Newport News, Virginia who has loyally collated and edited the great amount of material which his wife had assembled and which she was actively engaged in arranging for the printer prior to her untimely demise on January 25, 1948.

The book is a collection of abstracts from original documents concerning the lands and people of Colonial Gloucester County which includes Mathews County. The subject matter of this volume is to a certain degree similar to that in volume one, also by the same author, but new features have been introduced in the present volume; notably for example, the floor plans of well known Gloucester (including Mathews) County houses of the early nineteenth century taken from the insurance records of the Mutual Assurance Society. With very few exceptions, the occupants of these houses were also the owners.

In this volume we are presented with copies of, or abstracts from family papers of such Virginia citizens as are representative of Gloucester County: Berkeley, Thruston, Lilly, Billups, Stoakes, Booth, Taliaferro and others. There are abstracts from pertinent records of certain other Virginia counties such as Old Rappahannock, Essex, York, Lancaster, Middlesex, Westmoreland and Richmond.

Gloucester County has been doubly unfortunate with respect to its public records. In 1820 the County Clerk's Office, with its contents, was destroyed by fire. In 1865 the later county records were destroyed at the burning of Richmond, to which place they had been transferred for preservation during the Civil War.

Volume two has some interesting illustrations: Facing the title page, by way of a frontis-piece, is a survey plat of "Paradise," Gloucester County plantation of the first Richard Lee, 1672. This is followed by a map of Colonial Gloucester County, showing parish lines and some of the earliest geographical names as found in the land grants. There is also a plat of Gloucester Town (1707), giving names of some of the lot-holders. This volume concludes with a supplementary list of Civil Officers whose combined terms of service ranged from 1656 to 1802. A copious index enhances the value of this work. In its compilation and redaction, the book is truly a labor of love, of which no one can say: "Love's labour's lost."

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

A Treasury of Southern Folklore: Stories, Ballads, Traditions, and Folkways of the People of the South. Edited by B. A. BOTKIN. New York: Crown Publishers, 1949. 776 pp. $4.00.

One of a series of regional anthologies, this book is chiefly a collection of anecdotes gathered from the great body of Southern literature. Though familiar, many of them are well worth repeating; but it is inevitable that they were more amusing in context, in the various books—from John Bernard's to Huey Long's—from which Mr. Botkin has quoted. Strung together here they became a joke-book, which is the grimmest consecutive reading known to man.

Read even a little at a time as it should be, *A Treasury of Southern Folklore* is below standard for the serious student either of history or sociology; and for the reader who thinks wishfully, at least, on the Brave New South the reactionary implications are distressing. It is, however, a book which will prove invaluable to the after-dinner speaker, the comedian whether social or professional, and the backwoods preacher whether geographically urban or rural. As for professional Southerners everywhere, they will hail it with delight.

ELLEN HART SMITH.

Readings in New Canaan History. The New Canaan Historical Society. Mount Vernon, N. Y.: The Golden Eagle Press, 1949. 281 pp. $5.00.

In presenting this series of reprints on the early history of Canaan Parish and the growth of the town of New Canaan, the Historical Society of New Canaan (Connecticut) has fulfilled its function as custodian of records. It is to be congratulated on commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Society in this manner. These records will grow in historic value with the passing years. Already great changes have come to the once rural community of New Canaan. The coming of the railroad marked the advent of the summer colony there. Each year the magnet of New York draws more commuters to the great city. Many will read with pleasure this record of past days. Maps, old prints and illustrations in black and white add interest to the book which is well printed and adequately indexed.

E. R. B.

Essays in Southern History, Presented to Joseph Gregoire deRoulhac Hamilton, Edited by FLETCHER MELVIN GREEN. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, vol. 31. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. vii, 156 pp. $1.25 paper.

This small volume of essays dedicated to Professor Joseph G. deR. Hamilton was written entirely by eight of his former students at the University of North Carolina. No criteria governed the selection of the

essays used in this volume since they possess no unity of theme. Their only common bond is their representation of the interests of Professor Hamilton in various phases of Southern history, namely, Thomas Jefferson, the Old South, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and North Carolina state history.

All of the essays make a distinct contribution to a better understanding of Southern history. The essay on Lewis Thompson, for instance, is a study in absentee ownership between 1848 and 1888. Dealing entirely with the supervision of a distant plantation, the article reveals the operations of a typical representative of the planter society. This article could well serve as a model for a similar study of the planter society in Maryland more particularly of such families as the Lloyds and the Ridgelys.

The primary purpose of these essays was the stimulation of further interest and enthusiasm in the field of Southern history. The samples given here only serve to reveal some of the more significant contributions which are possible in the future. However, the book has several drawbacks. First of all, it has no index. In addition, the quality of the paper used was very poor. But these are only minor faults. Otherwise, the book stands as a suitable memorial to the efforts of Professor Hamilton who did so much to stimulate the knowledge of and the enthusiasm for study of Southern history.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Pennsylvania: Titan of Industry. By SYLVESTER K. STEVENS. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1948. 3 Volumes. $27.50.

In the preface to this three volume work Dr. Stevens states that the industrial development of Pennsylvania "has been the most important single factor in its growth as a leading state in terms of its power and influence in the American Republic." He also says that he has undertaken this pioneer synthesis of the state's industrial history because no phase of the history of Pennsylvania has been more neglected. The reasons he gives for undertaking the task at the present time are: (1) the need of Pennsylvania schools and colleges for such a study; (2) the loss of materials that might result from further delay; and (3) the need to place before our citizens in this time of unrest "the full story of what free enterprise has accomplished in Pennsylvania in building a great industrial empire."

The result is an interesting and factual volume covering the state's industrial development from the seventeenth century to the present. The tone is conservative and uncritical. Since less than 12 pages of 421 in the first volume relate to labor, the need of our schools and of our citizens for an appreciation of the role of the working man in creating a great industrial empire will have to be met elsewhere.

The second and third volumes consist of brief individual accounts of

some three hundred industrial firms existing today. They were largely written from material contributed by the firms for that purpose, and were submitted to the firms for review prior to publication. Too often they read like advertising copy rather than history, but there is much in them that could be of value to the student of social and industrial development.

One deficiency of the work is its lack of integration and critical analysis. Pennsylvania's position today as a "Titan of Industry" has been brought about by a highly successful integration of many phases of industrial activity, but Dr. Stevens has dealt lightly with this aspect. The book also lacks a comprehensive study of the position of labor in relation to the industrial might of the state, and as a result it detracts rather than adds to the value of the work. The sections on colonial industry are excellent, the bibliography is exhaustive and critical, and the work covers an extensive variety of industries.

JAMES MILHOLLAND, JR.

The Johns Hopkins University.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Beginning with the present number, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* will come to its readers under the editorship of Dr. Harry Ammon. Dr. Ammon joined the staff of the Historical Society as Librarian in August 1948. Since that time he has familiarized himself thoroughly with the members of the society, and its activities.

Dr. Ammon, whose home was in Washington, D. C. is a graduate of Georgetown University, and holds a degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Virginia, his thesis being a study of the Republican Party in Virginia down to 1824. His training and scholarly equipment assure for the Magazine an easy transition from the editorship of Mr. James W. Foster, the Director, who will be set free to further the Society's services to the community in other directions, to give closer attention to its plans for expansion and to devote himself to the collection of needed materials of all kinds. Dr. Ammon contemplates no changes in the make-up of the Magazine, which, under Mr. Foster's able guidance, has moved forward to a commanding position among the historical periodicals of the country.

RATCLIFFE MANOR

By James Bordley, Jr.

So much speculation has been indulged in determining the time of the building of most Colonial homes that it is refreshing to discover first hand information concerning the building of one of the finest, Ratcliffe Manor, on the Tred Avon river in Talbot County.[1]

In 1725 Henry Hollyday, the owner and builder, was born at Wye House, the home of his parents, Colonel and Mrs. James Hollyday. In 1732 he moved with his family to their new home, Readbourne Rectified, in Queen Anne's County. On December 9, 1748 he married Anna Maria, the daughter of George Robins of Peach Blossom, Talbot County.[2] By the will [3] of her father this lady was given a large tract of land on Tred Avon Creek, described in the deed as a portion of Tilghmans Fortune conveyed by John Stanton and Susannah his wife to George Robins, 75 acres; another part of the same tract conveyed by Ralph Homes and Frances, his wife to George Robins, 45 acres; also all of that part of a tract called Ratcliffe Mannour conveyed by John Bartlett and Mary his wife, 50 acres; and all of that part of the same tract conveyed by Thomas Bartlett and Margaret his wife, 100 acres; and Discovery in Talbot from Francis Armstrong, 60 acres, Turkey Park from Robert Hopkins 329 acres, patented 1713.[4]

In this deed should have been (and later was) included in the gift a tract of 50 acres of Ratcliffe Manor purchased by George Robins not long before his death from Thomas Bartlett. In 1752 Henry Hollyday added to this body of land 100 acres on Cool Spring Cove, Ratcliffe Manor, purchased from Samuel Bartlett.[5]

Mr. Hollyday and his wife lived in Queen Ann's County until the expiration of his term as High Sheriff, October 1751,[6] and then moved to his wife's property to fulfill his new duties as Deputy Commissory General for Talbot County.[7] Just where he first lived on this property is conjectural, probably in the house vacated by his father-in-law when he moved to Peach Blossom. It is quite definite however that when he built

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[1] The letters referred to in the text are among the Hollyday papers presented the Maryland Historical Society by the family of the late Richard Hollyday of Readbourne.

[2] In St. Peters Parish records-Talbot Co. The date of the wedding is Dec. 9, 1749. In the will of Mrs. James Hollyday written March 4, 1749 there is this item: "I give to my Daughters in-Law Anna Lloyd and Anna Maria Hollyday to each of them a Mourning Ring." Queen Ann Co. Wills.

[3] Talbot Co., H. B. 2, p. 272.

[4] Land Records Talbot Co., J. L., p. 283-4. Turkey Park was part of the original grant to Capt. Robert Morris in 1659 which he called Ratcliffe Mannour.

[5] Land Records Talbot Co., Vol. XV, p. 126.

[6] Commission Book, Md. Hist. Society.

[7] Appointed 1752 by Daniel Dulany, Commisory General records, Hall of Records.

his home it was upon the land purchased by him from Samuel Bartlett, on Cool Spring Cove.[8]

When Colonel James Hollyday died in 1747 he left his son Henry certain valuable assets which were to be his after his mother's death, she dying on April 9, 1755, Mr. Hollyday immediately started collecting material with which to build. It appears evident he had a definite plan either conceived or drafted as he knew the materials needed and the amount of each, this idea is further emphasized by the fact that on May 30, 1755 he ordered from London his house furnishings. It is to be regretted that in neither his letters, nor, ledger is mention made of either the designer or builder. In a letter to his brother James in London on Sept. 30, 1755 he wrote: "[I] have made this summer 80 or 90 thousand Bricks in order to build [torn] Summer. I shall therefore have occasion for a Joyner; if upon [con]sulting Capt. Anderson it is thought practicable to gett a Workman upon moderate terms, & those I leave to you to judge of, please . . . send me one in the Spring. I would rather have one indented to me without Wages. . . ."

On June 10, 1756 he wrote: "I . . . continue my Resolution of Build[ing] . . . it being agreeable to Nancy and her Friends that She [ma]ke me such Deed of her Lands as will leave it with me to give to any Child I have by her. I have sawd my Scantling, contracted for my Planks and Shingles and made the greatest part of my Bricks in order to go to work early next Spring but shall notwithstanding be well enough pleasd if you should not send me a Joyner, the Officers of the regular Troops having the last Winter encouraged Indented Servants to enlist; if therefore you have not engaged one before this gets to hand I retract my request to you. . . . I have two Cropps [of tobacco] to carry in this year making in all 10000 wt. wch. after payment of my Debts I propose to sell here to raise Money for my building. . . . On Nov. 4, 1756 he wrote: "There being little or nothing for your Boy Hector to do at the Manor I ventured to bring him down in the Spring and have employed him this Summer in bearing off Bricks, and purpose to keep him for making one Kiln more early in the Spring. Mr. Goldsborough was so kind to lend me a Boy for that purpose last year."

Hoxton Family—An article by me will be published in the *Virginia Magazine* on the English ancestry of the Hoxton family of Maryland and Virginia. This has been traced for eight generations in England, Hyde Hoxton, the emigrant to Maryland being of the nineth. His connection with the English family is established. He mar. Susannah (Brooke) Smith. His son, Walter, mar., second, Susannah Harrison. They had issue; Susannah mar. ———— Curry, Rachel mar. Oswald Brooke, Julianna mar. Theodore Middleton, Ann Mary mar. ———— Neale,

---

[8] Information given by Mrs. Wm. Murray Hollyday of Glenwood—who spent her married life on the property.

Stanislaus mar. Mary Hawkins Semmes, and had issue John Thomas said to have mar. Margaretta Gover, of Harford Co., Mary mar. William Tolson, and William mar. Eliza Llewellyn Griffith. From the last marriage comes the Virginia line, about which I have full data, but, of descendants of the other children, I have little data, in the cases of Susannah and Ann Mary none. I wish to correspond with descendants of these children with a view to including their lines in a second article. Information especially wanted as to John Thomas Hoxton and T. Semmes Hoxton, who was a student in School of Medicine of University of Maryland in 1852.

Legh W. Reid, Box 151
Haverford, Pa.

Lucy Holmes—I am trying to locate the family album which belonged to Lucy Holmes, wife of Isaiah Balderston, one time Chief Judge of the Orphans' Court of Baltimore. In this album Edgar Allan Poe, according to Eugene L. Didier, wrote a short poem which was given the title "Alone." The poem was reproduced in "fac-simile" in 1875 in *Scribner's Magazine* after having been photographed at Peabody Institute Library. Unfortunately, the album containing the original has not been located by recent Poe researchers.

I. B. Cauthen, Jr.,
15 Cabell Hall,
University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Porter—Information is wanted on the *parents* of SUSANNAH PORTER, born Aug. 11, 1770, near Baltimore, in Baltimore or Anne Arundel Counties. She was married Feb. 14th or 21st, 1795, by Rev. J. G. S. Bend, Rector, St. Pauls Parish, to Brice Chew Randall, born Aug. 6, 1771, son of Aquilla, Sr., and Margaret (Browne) Randall, who lived in the Randallstown area, later returning to the original family lands in northern Anne Arundel, south of Baltimore.

The Will of Susannah (Gassaway) Mansell Welsh (Anne Arundel Co. Bk. "TG-1," p. 200; Pro. 8/11/1784) mentioned her grand daughter Susannah Porter. Her daughter (the mother of Susannah Porter) evidently died sometime after Aug. 11, 1770, and before the Will was dated 7/19/1784.

Susannah Gassaway m-1st, Samuel Mansell, who d-June 6, 1779. Shortly thereafter, she m-2nd, John Welsh.

Susannah Gassaway was the daughter of Nicholas Gassaway (son of John) whose Will (A. A. Co., Bk. 30; p. 298; Pro., 2/18/1757) shows Susannah's sister, Hannah Porter (who m-1761, Philip PORTER).

Susannah Porter may have been the niece of Susannah (Gassaway) Mansell Welsh. However other records indicate Susannah Porter might

have been the daughter of Richard or Sylvanus Porter and Ruth Mansell (daughter of Susannah (Gassaway) Mansell Welsh.

The writer has cosiderable additional data on the above family lines, which will be furnished to those interested.

James—Information is wanted on the first wife; and also the parents of THOMAS JAMES, b-1756 (place unknown); and d-Sept. 12, 1842 in Rush Co., Ind.

According to his affidavit (for Revolutionary Pension, Md. # S16,423) at Rush Co., Ind. Court, Nov. 14, 1832, he was a resident of Harford Co., Md., when he enrolled in Capt. Bennett Bussey's Co., Harford Co. Militia, July 25, 1776.

He married 1st (wanted: her name, and those of her parents) during 1776-80, presumably in Harford Co. Apparently she died in 1781, at the birth of twin children, Elizabeth and Elisha. With these circumstances in mind, he married 2nd, Nov. 11, 1781 (in Hartford Co., marriage records) Mary (————) Eagan, widow of his former neighbor, Sampson Eagan, who had sons, Sampson, Jr., and Henry. During 1784-90, they moved to Culpeper Co., Va.; and thence to Staunton, Va., in 1799.

James Wade Emison,
Citizens Trust Bldg., Vincennes, Ind.

Elliott-Clarvoe—James Elliott of Maryland (b when) married Washington Co., Ky. 5-3-1799 Mrs. Eleanor (Leake?) Mudd (widow of Francis Mudd). James Elliott apparently had a brother Raphael and a sister Eleanor. Parentage of James, Raphael, and Eleanor Elliott asked; also of wife and children of Raphael.

A Wm. Henry Clarvoe was born in or near Georgetown, D. C., then Maryland about 1750. A Henry Clarvoe died in Scott Co., Ky. in 1808 age about 33 or 36. Are these two related or even possibly the same person. Would like to hear from any one who is interested in the Clarvoe family.

Richard D. Mudd, M. D.,
1001 Hoyt Street, Saginaw, Michigan.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. HIGH is a doctoral candidate at the University of California (Los Angeles), where he is preparing a study of Governor Horatio Sharpe. ☆ A high school teacher of history, MR. LANIS holds a Master's Degree from the University of Wisconsin. ☆ MR. CARROLL is a graduate student at Duke University. ☆ MRS. BEVAN has been a frequent contributor to our Magazine.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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BALTIMORE

June · 1950

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HARRY AMMON, *Editor*
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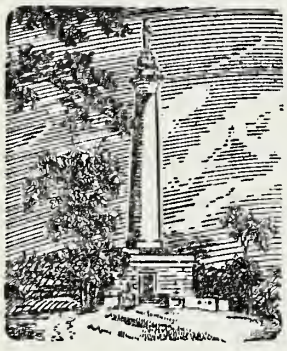

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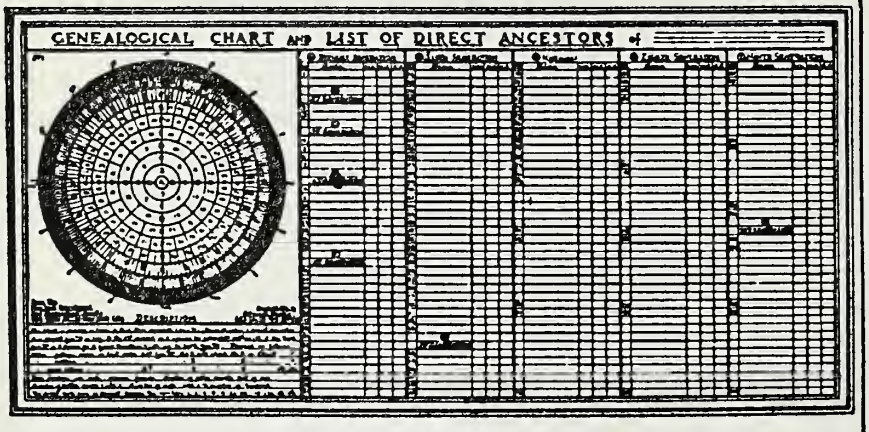

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLV JUNE, 1950 Number 2

THE COLLEGE GREEN BARRACKS: ST. JOHN'S DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Tench Francis Tilghman

THE fateful spring of 1861 found St. John's College in Annapolis quite genuinely meriting the epithet of "venerable" which was, with increasing frequency, being applied to it. No longer the "infant seminary" of Washington's visit in 1791, it had behind it a history of nearly seventy-five years, during which time it had experienced almost every vicissitude that can befall an educational institution, even having been forced to close, from January to September of 1818, because of the withdrawal of state support. But under the long reign of Hector Humphreys, Principal from 1831 to 1857, the college had achieved a measure of stability and even a modest prosperity. Its future seemed brighter than at any time since the 1790's. But it was the misfortune of the college to be situated in a border state where opinions were sharply divided; and, even worse, in the capital of that state where all the

conflicting forces were drawn into a focus. Had St. John's been located in almost any other town in Maryland, it might easily have continued its work with only slight disarrangement during the war. But Annapolis became suddenly important, from a military point of view, as the state capital, as the seat of the United States Naval Academy, and as a means of communication with Washington.

The death of Dr. Humphreys in 1857 must have seemed like the end of an age, so long had he been at the college. A whole generation had been born, grown up, and graduated from St. John's since his arrival in Annapolis. How much a part of the college he was, is well illustrated by the difficulty the Board of Visitors and Governors encountered in finding a successor and by the curious situation that followed, for St. John's went through the odd experience of having four Principals in eight months. Humphreys died in late January. On March 17 the faculty was informed that the Rev. Dr. James Ellison Van Bokkelen had been appointed by the Board to take Humphreys' place; and the news soon became common property, for on March 22 a student wrote to a friend that he had heard that the Trustees had selected "Mr. Van Boclan" of St. Timothy's Hall, and that it was generally believed he would "except" the offer.[1] On March 23 the Principal-elect attended a faculty meeting, and the usual business was transacted. Then trouble must have developed: on April 20 the faculty sent a resolution to the Board urging the appointment on the grounds of Van Bokkelen's "well-known energy and ability" and of the likelihood of his bringing a number of students with him. It appears, from the resolution, that a hitch had been caused by financial disagreements: the Principal-elect wanted $2,000 a year, and the Board was reluctant to pay so much. The argument ended with Dr. Van Bokkelen retiring from the scene.[2] Then in June, Chapman—who seemed to know everything that was going on—wrote again that he understood the position had been offered to Dr. Lewis P. W. Balch of Christ Church, Baltimore.[3] The faculty minutes show that Balch was appointed on June 23, and so definite and complete was the appointment that the American Almanac for 1858 lists L. P. W. Balch as Principal of St. John's. But he

[1] Andrew Grant Chapman to William A. Stewart, St. John's College Library. Mr. Chapman, though a Junior, was a little weak in spelling. Still, the Principal-elect's name is spelled three different ways in the college records.

[2] Faculty Minutes, St. John's College Library, March 17 and 23, April 20, 1857.

[3] Chapman Letters, St. John's College Library, June 14, 1857.

eventually backed out, presumably for the same reason as Van Bokkelen. And so, in desperation, the Board reverted to an old custom by offering the Principalship to Dr. Nelson, the Rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis. Just when he was appointed is not quite clear, but an advertisement for the college on August 27 mentions him as Principal, and he attended his first faculty meeting on August 29.[4]

Cleland K. Nelson, who restored the St. Anne's dynasty to the Principal's chair, was born in Albemarle Co., Virginia, in 1814, a member of a very distinguished family of that state. A graduate of Dickinson College, he had been appointed Rector of St. Anne's in 1847.[5] Of the early years of his Principalship little need be said. He obviously took Humphreys as a model, and as the latter had been a famous martinet, endeavored to carry on his tradition. Chapman wrote gloomily that he was trying hard to " comply with Father Nelson's various regulations." Another student told his grandmother that she must not blame him if his letters to her were late, because the Principal would not allow him to walk as far as the post-office.[6] Either Nelson was not a good disciplinarian or the restless condition of the whole country was reflected in the students' behavior, for more boys were expelled during this short period than during the entire twenty-six years of Humphreys' reign. And thus, with an outward show of almost monastic discipline and an inward unrest, the few brief years of Nelson's administration drew towards their end. Then, in the spring of 1861, the storm broke. In April Northern troops began to disembark at Annapolis, and for the second time St. John's closed its doors.

Most of the movements of troops in and out of Annapolis during the first months of the war belong to the larger military history of the period and have no place here. Nor are we concerned with the question of the part played by the state of Maryland in the secession problem. These matters, however, must be touched on somewhat in so far as they affected the college, as they

[4] Annapolis, *Maryland Gazette*, August 27, 1857.

[5] Thomas Fell, *Some Historical Accounts of the Founding of King William's School and St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1894), p. 65; Walter B. Norris, *Illustrated History and Guide Book to St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1935), p. 9. The first Vice Principal, Higginbotham, and Principals Judd and Davis had all been Rectors of this church.

[6] Chapman Letters, Oct. 13, 1857; William Stone Abert to Mrs. W. J. Stone, May 5, 1859, Abert Letters, St. John's College Library.

unquestionably did. The recital of a few essential facts will suffice to set the stage.

The situation in Annapolis was precipitated by the Baltimore riots of April 19 occasioned by the passage of Massachusetts regiments through that city on their way to Washington. This meant that Baltimore was no longer a completely safe route to the national capital. In addition, the pro-Southern sentiment throughout large sections of Maryland endangered the Naval Academy which, with the supplies stored there and the frigate Constitution lying in the river, would have made a neat prize for the Confederates. It was to ward off this danger that the notorious "Teaspoon" Butler set out for Annapolis by water, the day after the fighting in Baltimore, and began to land his troops on April 21. Many years afterwards he recounted, with a certain grim humor, the story of his occupation of Annapolis.[7] From a military point of view, it was an operation of considerable importance at that stage of the war, for, by seizing the railroad, he kept open an alternate route to Washington in case Baltimore should become untenable. The Naval Academy scurried off to the safety of Newport, Governor Hicks took the Legislature to Frederick, and Butler was left in command of the scene.

It was not Butler, however, who was directly responsible for the capture of St. John's, although his unenviable nickname was the result of his reputation for taking the property of others. His official papers show that, when he was relieved of the command of the Annapolis district about the middle of May, he had not touched the college, although he had occupied every other point, from Fort Madison to Round Bay, that might be strategically useful in holding the town.[8] And he foresaw how important Annapolis might later become as a base for camps and hospitals.[9] With the assistance of Dr. Gilman Kimball he established, before he left, a hospital in the grounds abandoned by the Naval Academy. It was Butler's foresight, rather than his actions, that was the undoing of St. John's.

The night that descended on the college that spring is pierced by

[7] Benjamin F. Butler, *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences* (Boston, 1892), p. 193 ff.

[8] *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benj. F. Butler* (Privately printed, 1917), I, 87.

[9] Butler, *Autobiography*, p. 892.

only a few brief gleams.[10] It is quite obvious that, under the impact of war, the institution simply disintegrated. The last faculty meeting took place on some unspecified day in April. The minutes are written at the bottom of a page otherwise blank, as if previous meetings had occurred but no one had had time to make a note of the proceedings. The faculty then consisted of the Principal, Dr. Nelson; the Vice Principal, David Stewart, who had come under Humphreys in 1855; David J. Capron, 1840; the Rev. Russell Trevett; William H. Thompson, who had graduated from the college in 1838 and had joined the faculty a year later; and a young tutor, William H. Hopkins, of the class of 1859. Rudolph L. Tafel had resigned the preceding September, and his place was being temporarily filled by Arsene N. Girault of the staff of the Naval Academy. Hopkins was not present that day; and although the academic term was not scheduled to end until the first of August, the faculty seems not to have had another meeting. Of the whole group, only Nelson and Hopkins were ever to see St. John's again. Of course, no class was graduated that year. What happened was tersely summed up in a report submitted by the Principal to the Board on July 3: " All the Students of the Boarding Department, in number eighteen, and twenty-one Day-Scholars have been withdrawn from College. Our present number is forty-three, of which nineteen are pay and twenty-four free Scholars." [11] The college had begun the year with seventy-eight names on the books. All spring they had been drifting away as the war began in grim earnest. The older boys joined either the Union or Confederate forces; the younger ones were doubtless taken home by parents who considered it dangerous to leave their sons in a town occupied by what was, to most of them, a hostile army.

Nor was St. John's, at this time, in a condition to withstand any very violent shocks, for its affairs were not in good shape. Even a year before the outbreak of the war the enrollment had fallen off. In April of 1860 Dr. Nelson had tried to resign, on the plea

[10] It is necessary to insert here a brief note on the college records. The official Minute Books of the Board for the years 1843 to 1878 have been lost or destroyed. The author found, however, in the college library several bundles of manuscripts from this period. The condition of these documents—written in obvious haste on pieces of paper of various sizes—indicates that they are the rough notes taken by the Secretary during the actual progress of the meetings and, for some reason, kept after having been copied into the official books. They are naturally fragmentary, but some of them are from the Civil War period.

[11] St. John's College Library.

that he wished to return to his work in the ministry where his true interest lay.[12] Only at the earnest solicitation of the Board had he consented to remain for another session. He realized himself that his administration had not been successful. "I had hoped," he said in his letter of resignation, "in the course of a few years to have put the College in such a condition that it would have commanded the very highest abilities of the country for the place of Principal. I mentioned to the Faculty when I took charge of the College that I thought that three years would determine the question as to what I could make of the Institution. I have done my best to elevate our School to a higher position among the Seminaries of Learning of our Land, but am obliged to confess that my expectations have been greatly disappointed." [13] And now, with the very walls of the college crumbling, there broke out one of those bitter internal feuds, for which St. John's has been eminently celebrated, to rob the catastrophe of much of its dignity. Because of the loss of the records we cannot follow too clearly the progress of this private little civil war. It appears that the battle was between the Principal on the one side and the faculty on the other, with the Board cast in the role of a rather dazed umpire. For a year or more, Dr. Nelson had been in charge of the college commons, and, when the students suddenly began to withdraw, he found himself left with a debt of some $1,800 from unpaid accounts. He asked and secured the permission of the Board to sell the furniture of the boarding-house (Humphreys Hall) so that he might repay himself and, as he put it, have enough money to get himself and his family out of Annapolis. This he did. Then the faculty came into the picture with a long series of charges against the Principal. Since the professors got a large part of their salaries directly from the tuition fees, the students, by so hurriedly decamping, had deprived them of any chance of getting paid while Dr. Nelson, by selling the furniture, had disposed of the college's only negotiable assets, so the faculty were completely stranded. Should he, they asked, be permitted to sell the common property to settle his private debts? Also, they accused him of defeatism, as it would be called today, for having hinted darkly to the students of the impending disruption of the

[12] Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors, April 4, 1860. Hereinafter abbreviated to MBVG.

[13] Nelson to Board, April 4, 1860, St. John's College Library.

college and even of having tried to close it in April just after the landing of Butler's troops. Finally, they added a touch of comedy by accusing him of having turned the college green into a pasture, charging two dollars per month per cow, in order to pay off his smaller obligations. To all of this Nelson submitted a long and involved reply in which he endeavored to explain his financial transactions. As to closing the college, it had seemed to him the most natural thing in the world to do, when the streets of Annapolis were swarming with soldiers and almost every prominent citizen was trying to move his family out of town as quickly as possible.[14] In the end, the Board sided with Nelson and in October sent him a resolution of esteem.

All during the summer the disintegration continued. On July 20, Thomas S. Iglehart, of the Vestry of All Hallows Church, was authorized to " wait on Rev. Mr. Nelson of Annapolis; and invite him to accept of the rectorship of this parish." [15] Ten days later word came that Dr. Nelson would accept the offer and was prepared to enter upon his duties on the third Sunday in September. On August 6 Trevett resigned. But in spite of the lowering clouds, the college made a brave effort to open in October with—according to the grade-book—twenty-two students under the charge of Thompson and Hopkins. There was even talk of getting a new Principal: several letters to Alexander Randall of the Board urged the claims of Rev. William Barton, and Dr. Van Bokkelen appeared again and expressed his willingness to attempt the job. But the tension created by the war proved too great; and, at a Board meeting held early in October, the college blew up. A dispatch printed at Chestertown in the *Kent News* for the 19th of that month told the story:

> The trustees of St. John's College, Annapolis, virtually destroyed that venerable institution last week by declaring the seats of all the professors, save one, vacant, for no other reason than that they were union men. They immediately elected the one secession professor to fill the chair from which they had deposed him. Thus the college is left without a president or Faculty, and is virtually broken up; the only mark left of its former venerable name being a Grammar School, under the special guardianship of a select committee.
>
> At the meeting there were fourteen present of whom nine voted to

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[14] MBVG, July 3, 1861.
[15] Vestry Records of All Hallows Church, July 20 and 30, 1861.

destroy the College in the manner indicated, namely Judge Legrand and Bartol, of the Court of Appeals, ex-Governor Pratt, George Wells, Nicholas Hammond, Daniel M. Thomas, James Murray, Joseph H. Nicholson, and Edwin Boyle. The trustees who voted against the proposition were Gov. Hicks, Alexander Hicks, Judge Tuck, Frank H. Stockett, and John Ridout, Sr. The Annapolis Gazette from which we gather the facts, says that the majority of the trustees are secessionists, and they have thus vented their spleen against the Union professors of the College.

In the absence of the official minutes of this meeting, which have been lost, the account printed in the Chestertown newspaper should be taken with several grains of salt. The terrible bitterness of those years made it very easy for journalists to impute to men motives that they never possessed: the Annapolis editor may have been giving merely his own interpretation of the situation. There is, of course, no evidence for either case, but it seems just as probable that a majority of the Board, as they saw the student-body and the faculty melt away, thought it impossible to keep the college going any longer, and so voted for its dissolution, without any thought of venting their spleen against anyone. The newspaper version really conveyed a false impression, because it implied a wholesale slaughter of the faculty, whereas, as a matter of fact, two of them had already resigned. Four were left, Stewart, Capron, Thompson, and Hopkins. Thompson, an Annapolitan, was the one who eventually remained to take charge of the Grammar School.

According to the college's own statement, made just after the war when the memory must still have been fresh, the grounds and some of the buildings were taken by the Northern Army that same October, though whether before or after the meeting described above we cannot say.[16] The first purpose to which they were put was that of a parole camp. Under the military usage prevailing at that time, a camp of this sort was one to which exchanged prisoners were brought and kept until they could be given the pay that had accrued to them during the time of their imprisonment, the amount of this pay being the same as if they had been serving in the field. As the war dragged on and the great battles were fought, the number of such exchanged prisoners increased enormously, and Annapolis eventually became the most important depot in the East for this particular service. The usual procedure

[16] *Laws of Maryland, Extra Session, 1866* (Annapolis, 1866), Chapter 101.

was for the paroled Federals to be taken first to Fortress Monroe and then brought on the steamer New York up the Bay to Annapolis. There are records of these men arriving in groups as large as six thousand at a time.[17]

Naturally, the college grounds were far too small to accommodate such large numbers; and the main camp was established at what is known today—because of this war history—as Camp Parole.[18] The function of the College Green Barracks, which was the official name given to St. John's, was as a sort of receiving station to which the newly-landed men were brought and given fresh clothing and such medical attention as they might need. They were then moved to the larger camp outside of town, which had the additional advantage of affording fewer opportunities for trouble with civilians. Thus Lt. Col. George E. Sangster, of the 47th New York Militia, who was in command at the college, notified his superior that he could have the men in barracks half an hour after they had disembarked.[19] A somewhat more detailed account of the college as it was in the winter of 1863 was given by Capt. H. M. Lazelle in a report to Col. William Hoffman.[20] On the back campus there had been erected eight wooden barracks, each ninety by twenty feet in size and each to hold 150 men. There were also such cook-houses as were necessary, and, eventually, there were added bath-houses and a chapel. The Quartermaster's Corps maintained at all times a vast store of supplies: 2,000 suits, 2,000 overcoats, as well as shoes and blankets and whatever else the men might want. Lazelle reported that, as soon as the men had landed and been brought to the college, they were compelled to wash thoroughly and to throw their old clothes and shoes into the creek, after which they were reoutfitted. This was necessary to check the spread of disease from the ragged, filthy uniforms that had been worn for months in Southern prisons. Thirty years after the war, according to older alumni, it was still possible to dig these army shoes out of the mud of the creek bank; the uniforms of course, had long since rotted away.

During this winter of 1863, again according to Lazelle, the

[17] *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Series 2, VII, 1160. (Hereinafter abbreviated to O. R.)

[18] Louis H. Bolander, "When Annapolis Was an Army Town," Baltimore *Sun*, Magazine Section, November 8, 1931.

[19] O. R., Series 2, V, 255, Sangster, Feb. 8, 1863.

[20] O. R., Series 2, V, 328, Lazelle, March 8, 1863.

troops on guard duty at the college consisted of the Potomac Home Brigade and the Purnell Legion of cavalry.

By the middle of May of that year, however, it had been decided to abandon the College Green Barracks and to move all the soldiers permanently to Camp Parole.[21] Probably it was thought too dangerous to keep so many idle men in the midst of a rather unfriendly town. So St. John's entered upon another phase of its military history. At first it seemed destined to become a prison, for C. A. Waite wrote to Col. Hoffman that " we have buildings in rear of the College that will hold 3,000 rebel prisoners and accommodate a guard of 250 men." [22] A few days later, apparently touched with compassion, he wrote that, because of the intense heat, it would be better to send only 2,000. Since the barracks had been built to hold only 1,200, one can imagine what they would have been like in an Annapolis summer had even two thousand men been jammed into them.

But it was the Medical Corps that eventually got the college. A year before this time the Board noted a " communication from B. Randall, Surgeon, U. S. Army . . . inquiring whether the Government of the United States can immediately occupy for sick and wounded officers and soldiers the Buildings on the College Green —and on what terms they can be so occupied." [23] The Board was divided on the proper answer. One group offered a resolution: " As [it is] the sense of this Board that they have no authority under the Charter and laws governing the College to assent to the use or occupation of the buildings on the College grounds or the grounds themselves for other purposes than those of a College Institution, but if the exigencies of the United States Government require "—why, then, they might give way if proper compensation were offered. The other group, headed by Judge Mason, were all for handing the matter over to the Executive Committee " who are authorized to make the most advantageous arrangements with the Government." The second group won, and consequently, when the Medical Corps finally took over the greater part of the college in the summer of 1863, we find that Col. Joseph H. Nicholson, acting for the Board, had arranged with the Surgeon General and the Quartermaster General for the college to be paid $500 a month

[21] O. R., Series 2, V, 613, May 14, 1863.
[22] O. R., Series 2, V, 557, C. A. Waite, May 5 and 9, 1863.
[23] MBVG, June 3, 1862.

for the use of the buildings, exclusive of McDowell Hall.[24] Accordingly, St. John's was re-christened as Division No. 2 of the Military General Hospital at Annapolis. The transition from parole camp to hospital was a natural one: because of the appalling conditions in the prisons of both sides all during the war, many of the exchanged prisoners were in immediate need of hospitalization. This was particularly true of the released Northern soldiers, whose Southern captors, hard pressed to find enough medical supplies for their own troops, could do very little for prisoners. Thus the hospital that Butler had established at the Naval Academy was expanded to include the second unit at the college.

It is quite evident that, even during the parole camp phase, the college Board had clung tenaciously to what parts of the buildings and grounds they could, and had retreated only step by step before the demands of the Army. Just after the close of the war they testified to the Legislature that " shortly after the rebellion broke out their buildings, grounds & were taken by the Government of the United States as a military hospital and for other military purposes," and that the scholarship students had been educated " in one of the College buildings, and when that could no longer be retained, in a building rented for that purpose in the city." [25] So the small group of scholarship boys was kept together during very nearly all the war years; and it may even be claimed that the college, though shoved around pretty roughly, did not actually close. The reason for the Board's struggle to continue some sort of educational programme for the holders of State scholarships was to avoid a technical violation of the college charter which required that at least five boys be educated free of charge. Wise in their experience of the Legislature and its attitude towards the college, the Board knew that any deviation from the terms of the charter might very well be seized upon later as an excuse for revoking even the tiny income that St. John's had, with such effort, wrung from the unwilling State.

We can see the Board making their last stand to hold the remnant of the campus in the summer of 1863. On July 20, Assistant Surgeon George B. Parker, in charge of Division No. 2, wrote to the Surgeon General to ask if he might occupy any part of the " old central building " of the college, so McDowell Hall

[24] MBVG, June 13, 1863.
[25] *House Journal and Documents: Extra Session, 1866*, pp. 178 ff.

was evidently the last line of defense. He wrote that " in a recent interview with one of the Ex. Committee of St. John's College it was stated that, ' the buildings in present occupancy, and the outer grounds, and commons of the College, were rented to the Medl. Dept. and for its use.' " The Board wanted to retain McDowell Hall because it contained " Philosophical Apparatus, a Laboratory, Mineralogical & Geological Specimens, Cabinets, Library, and the standard weights and measures property of the state of Maryland deposited in the care of the College." The weights and measures had been secured by Humphreys in 1850. The library had evidently been moved from Humphreys Hall when that building had been occupied by the Army.

As a result of this request by Parker, Medical Inspector Joseph K. Barnes was directed to examine McDowell Hall and to report on the advisability of its use by the Medical Department. He obviously looked on the building with a covetous eye, for on August 4 his report was forwarded to Surgeon Josiah Simpson, Medical Director of Baltimore, who was ordered to take the building. St. John's was, quite literally, ejected from its own campus.[26]

What happened, during all these alarms and excursions, to the small band of students who remained, is best told in the words of Prof. Thompson, reviewing the history of affairs for the benefit of the Board two years later:

Annapolis, May 18, 1865

To the Hon. Visitors and Governors of St. John's College.

Gentlemen:

When the Faculty was disbanded in October 1861, twenty-six students were committed to my charge, whom I instructed in the Latin and Greek Languages, Algebra, and such English Branches as are usually taught in Institutions of learning. This number steadily increased, until it ammounted to forty-one, which number I instructed up to October 1863, when the Government took possession of the Recitation Hall, and my school operations, for the time being, were suspended, and the students were scattered about in different institutions in the neighborhood. The Foundation Scholars were included in this number.

In January 1864 the Executive Committee of the Board of Visitors and Governors held a consultation with me, and it was determined to resume instruction, provided a room could be procured in the city, for that purpose. The Mayor and City Council offered me their Hall, and I promised

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[26] Information furnished by the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

to teach five boys to be appointed by the Mayor, in consideration of their kindness, who, together with the ten appointed by your Hon. Body, and fifteen pay students constitute at present my school. Owing to the deranged state of affairs, the appointments were confined to Annapolis and of course, as there was no school of a high order in the city, the attainments of the pupils were meagre. Of the thirty whom I at present instruct, two are reading Caesar's Commentaries, and Equations involving three unknown quantities; ten are studying the Latin Grammar, and the residue receive instruction in English, Grammar, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Orthography, Reading and Penmanship. The more advanced write Compositions and Declaim.

It may be proper for me to state that I receive five hundred dollars, as per agreement with the Executive Committee, for teaching the ten Foundation Students.

Which is respectfully submitted.

Wm. H. Thompson Prof: Prep. Dep.
St. John's College [27]

Poor man! in 1888 he still had not been able to collect the money owed him by the college for teaching during the crisis.

There was, however, still some intellectual life on the campus. In the spring of 1864 *The Crutch*, a four-page weekly magazine published by the convalescent soldiers in the hospital in the Naval Academy, announced that "On Wednesday (June 22) quite a stir was created in the literary world by the appearance of a new paper published in St. John's College Hospital called the Haversack. It is stored with rich mental food adapted to all tastes, and if its future career is as brilliant as its debut, we predict for it unbounded success, popularity, and patronage." [28] Through some odd accident, four numbers of this little paper have survived the ravages of the years and are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Some Northern soldier, cured of his wounds and returning home from the wars, probably put them in his pocket as a souvenir of dreary months in a military hospital.

Like its prototype at the Naval Academy Hospital, *The Haversack* was published by the soldiers to amuse themselves while awaiting discharge; and it is curious that the first literary afforts, except for orations, made at St. John's should have been under these circumstances. It was of four pages; the extant numbers

[27] St. John's College Library.
[28] Quoted by Louis H. Bolander, "Civil War Annapolis," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXIII, 1612 ff.

are those of December 14 and 21, 1864, and January 4 and February 9, 1865—numbers 26, 27, 29, and 34. It appeared once a week. The editor was the Rev. J. Pinkney Hammond, Chaplain of the Hospital. Some information about him can be gathered out of the darkness of time: he was an Annapolitan and had graduated from St. John's in 1842; in 1849 he had been Rector of Trinity, Upper Marlboro, and this had been followed by charges in New York and Pennsylvania.[29] At this period he was an army chaplain, and after the war he was Rector of St. Anne's in Annapolis for several years. A vaguely dated letter of 1862 announced to the Board his presence in Annapolis:

Annapolis. 29th 1862

To the Trustees of St. John's College

Gentlemen

I expect to return here in a week or two to enter upon my duties as Chaplain to the U. S. Hospital located on the College Green; and I shall esteem it a great favor if you will allow me the use of the hall in the old College building for the purpose of holding religious service, and for the delivery of lectures to the men during the week, on useful and interesting subjects.

If you can comply with my request I pledge myself as an alumnus of the institution, and as one who loves every stone in the venerable building, to see that no damage be done to the property, and that the hall be kept at all times in perfect order and cleanliness.

Hoping to receive a favorable answer to my petition I remain

Yours respectfully

J. P. Hammond

Chaplain U. S. Army [30]

This letter was written at a time when the Board still had the power to control the use of McDowell Hall, but their reply to Mr. Hammond has been lost. Later, however, a wooden chapel was built between McDowell and Humphreys Halls, probably at his request.

The Rev. Mr. Hammond must have found his alma mater sadly changed since he had known it as a student, but his heart was certainly in his duties, for his strong Union partisanship appears clearly in the paper. An advertisement informs us that he was

[29] Rev. Ethen Allen, *Clergy in Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 73.

[30] St. John's College Library.

the author of both the words and music of a song entitled "Stand by the Flag, Boys," and in his editorials he was fond of referring to "our misguided brethren of the South." Notices called attention to services in the College Chapel—that is, the temporary wooden one—to which "loyal citizens" were cordially invited: Mr. Hammond had pronounced a kind of private excommunication of Confederate sympathizers. Only once did he descend from his rather lofty style, and that was to complain with some humor of the condition of the Annapolis streets. There was, he maintained, a mud-hole on West St. opposite the hay scales that required a chart and channel-markers for its safe navigation.

Anyone reading today the poems and stories that appeared in *The Haversack* would probably disagree with the high opinion of its literary merits expressed by *The Crutch.* The contents were all written by the editor or by the invalid soldiers, except for one reprint of an article on Vice-President Johnson by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The poems had such titles as "The Dying Soldier"; the stories were, for the most part, of war experiences. In them the Confederate government and people are usually spoken of as "Jeff. Davis and his minions," and a Southern leader is depicted as "savage and brutal-looking." But the military activities of Jeff. Davis and his minions were sufficiently effective to keep a good-sized staff busily working at the hospital. The paper lists G. B. Palmer and W. S. Tremaine as surgeon and assistant surgeon, as well as L. Smith, B. M. McCleary, Jas. M. Deale, W. H. Eldridge, J. H. Bolton, John Moore, L. S. Pridham, L. A. Campbell, Alonzo Caldwell, and George W. Ransom as assistants, medical cadets, stewards, and clerks. The death-lists published weekly are by no means negligible; three of the papers give 7, 9, and 10 deaths respectively, while during the week ending January 4, 23 men had died.

Some local business firms advertised in the little paper, and there is a notice of a sutler's store kept in one of the college buildings where the soldiers could buy various small articles and extra food. The population of the hospital must have been considerable. All the buildings were occupied, and there were at least eight barracks on the back campus. Older Annapolitans, who remembered the last year of the war, used to speak of rows of tents pitched on the green in front of the buildings.

But the long war finally ended, and the Board—who appear to

have been meeting fairly regularly, usually in the Court of Appeals chamber but at least once in the railroad office—addressed themselves to the problem of evicting their unwelcome tenants. They soon found out, however, that it is much easier to allow an army to camp on your property than it is to get that same army off it. The military were in no hurry to move. By July, 1865, the most that Col. Nicholson had been able to extract from the Quartermaster of the post was the negligent remark that he *might* be willing to vacate by the first of October but that he would probably keep the grounds for several months after he had returned the buildings. Meanwhile, the Board received this very polite sales-letter from the surgeon in charge:

St. John's College General Hospital
Annapolis, Md. July 6th 1865

To the Hon. Trustees
of St. John's College
Annapolis, Md.

Gentlemen,

I have the honor to inform you that the new Chapel lately erected on these premises is about to be transferred to the Hicks Hospital in Baltimore. As this will involve considerable waste and thinking you may need the building as it is, I now write to suggest that you can probably purchase the Chapel as it now stands for the cost of the material and I will be happy to assist in the negotiation. If anything is to be done, early action is necessary.

I am Gentlemen,
Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Servt

G. S. Palmer
Surgeon U. S. Volunteers
in charge [31]

The harassed Board were in no mood to purchase a slightly-used chapel just at that moment, but they did do some shopping around the campus in search of really nice bargains. They finally invested $695.50 in second-hand buildings, for which sum they got " 1 store house 1 office 3 sinks 1 pump 1 mess hall, kitchen, and bath house 1 dead house 2 store houses." The " dead house " sounds a bit ghastly; the other items could be put to good use.

And now, just as the Army seemed about to withdraw, the

[31] MBVG, July 11, 1865.

Navy, across the street, began to glance hungrily at the college. In August, Admiral Porter took command, and immediately began to send strong hints, through his emissary Capt. Lewis, that he would like a bit of the grounds to add to the expanding Naval Academy. His modest proposal was to draw a line from College Ave. to the creek, midway between McDowell and Pinkney Halls. The Navy would then take all ground and buildings northeast of this line and generously leave to the college everything on the southwest.[32] The Board stood up to such a formidable antagonist quite bravely and denied his right to take their property. They were, however, in a mood to sell, because the college was in really desperate financial straits. To be sure, Mrs. Sarah F. Law had just bequeathed to St. John's " a most beautiful collection of shells," but cash, not the marvels of nature's handiwork, was needed. As a matter of fact, the idea of selling some of the excess college acreage had been meditated for a number of years. At the risk of being tedious, it might be well to describe the college grounds as they then were, so that the project will be more clearly understood. It must be remembered that, at this period, King George St. did not extend beyond its intersection with College Ave.; the continuation to the creek was not made until 1889. The term " college green," formerly used to describe the original four acres of land granted to the college at its founding, had, by the time of the Civil War, been enlarged to include the campus as it is today, and this area was surrounded by a fence. But adjoining the campus on the northeast was a large unfenced area, triangular in shape, its apex at the intersection of King George St. and College Ave. and its base running along College Creek to the mouth. Next to it was the property of Prof. Lockwood. The line had originally been marked by three boundary stones; as late as the 1850's the two at the ends of the line were still in existence. The whole tract had never been of much use to the college, and this seemed an appropriate time to dispose of it. But there was considerable wrangling over the price, and it was not until 1868 that the deal went through, transferring the greater part of the land to the Navy. The city got a slice, through which the extension of King George St. was later run.[33]

[32] MBVG, August 14, 1865.

[33] Liber S. H. No. 2, Folio 147, A. A. Land Records; MBVG, Aug. 14, 1865, Jan. 16, 1866, and April 3, 1867.

So gradually the college was able to get itself together again. It was not until early in the following December, however, that a notice, full of enthusiasm and bad grammar, appeared in one of the local papers:

St. John's College

We are informed that the Trustees of this venerable College, elected a President at its meeting on Thursday last, Henry Barnard, L. L. D. of Hartford, Conn.

The meeting, we learn, was more largely attended than usual, and that the election was made with great unanimity.

Dr. Barnard is a gentleman of national reputation as a scholar and educator, and equally distinguished as a man of liberal and enlarged sentiments. If he should accept the appointment, as we have reason to believe he will, we will endeavor to furnish a more extended notice of him in our next issue.[34]

Although it would be somewhat difficult to visualize a man who was distinguished for his "enlarged sentiments," this portrait of the new Principal struck a very hopeful note.[35] Four weeks later the same paper carried the brief announcement: "we understand that Henry Barnard, L. L. D., of Connecticutt, has accepted the Presidency of St. John's College." As the Board had a habit of saying on all too numerous occasions, St. John's was about to be restored to its ancient reputation and dignity.

[34] Annapolis, *Maryland Republican,* December 2, 30, 1865. The "Thursday last" on which the election took place was November 30.

[35] Barnard came to St. John's with a greater reputation and professional prestige than, perhaps, any other of its Principals. He remained at the college only until the spring of 1867, resigning the Principalship to become Commissioner of the Department of Education of the United States. *Dictionary of American Biography,* I, 621 ff.

READBOURNE, QUEEN ANNE'S COUNTY

By Thomas T. Waterman

Editor's Note.—Long celebrated as one of the distinguished mansions of Maryland, Readbourne has recently undergone a complete rehabilitation under the supervision of the author of this article. The original house, now the central block of the enlarged structure, was built in the 1730's on a tract of 1440 acres, which was patented in 1659 by George Read, whence the name.[1] After Read's death it passed through the hands of various owners and in 1731 was purchased by Colonel James Hollyday (1695-1747), son of Colonel Thomas Hollyday, of Prince George's County. The wife of James Hollyday was Sarah Covington Lloyd, widow of Major General Edward Lloyd, acting Governor of Maryland 1709-1713, of Wye House. Upon their marriage in 1721 the couple made Wye House their home until Mrs. Hollyday's son, Edward Lloyd, came of age in 1732. They then moved to the Readbourne estate and began the building of the mansion. In addition to the Readbourne plantation, James Hollyday was master of over 30,000 acres as guardian of his wife's Lloyd children. As befitted his position as the controller of one of the most substantial fortunes in the colony, he held many prominent offices in the government. He was a member of the House of Burgesses, Judge of the Talbot County Court, Justice of the Maryland Provincial Court, and a member of the Governor's Council from 1735 until his death in 1747. He was also Treasurer of the Eastern Shore and Naval Officer of the Port of Oxford.[2]

Readbourne remained in the possession of the Hollydays until 1903. After ownership by various families, it was purchased a decade ago by Mr. William Fahnestock, Jr., of New York. Mr. Waterman's sympathetic restoration was completed in 1949.

The house is delightfully situated on a gentle slope above the Chester River. The highway approach leads to the east front, or what was originally the land side of the house. The main entrance, as was usual in the 18th century, faced the river to the west.

For assistance in the preparation of this paper the Magazine is indebted

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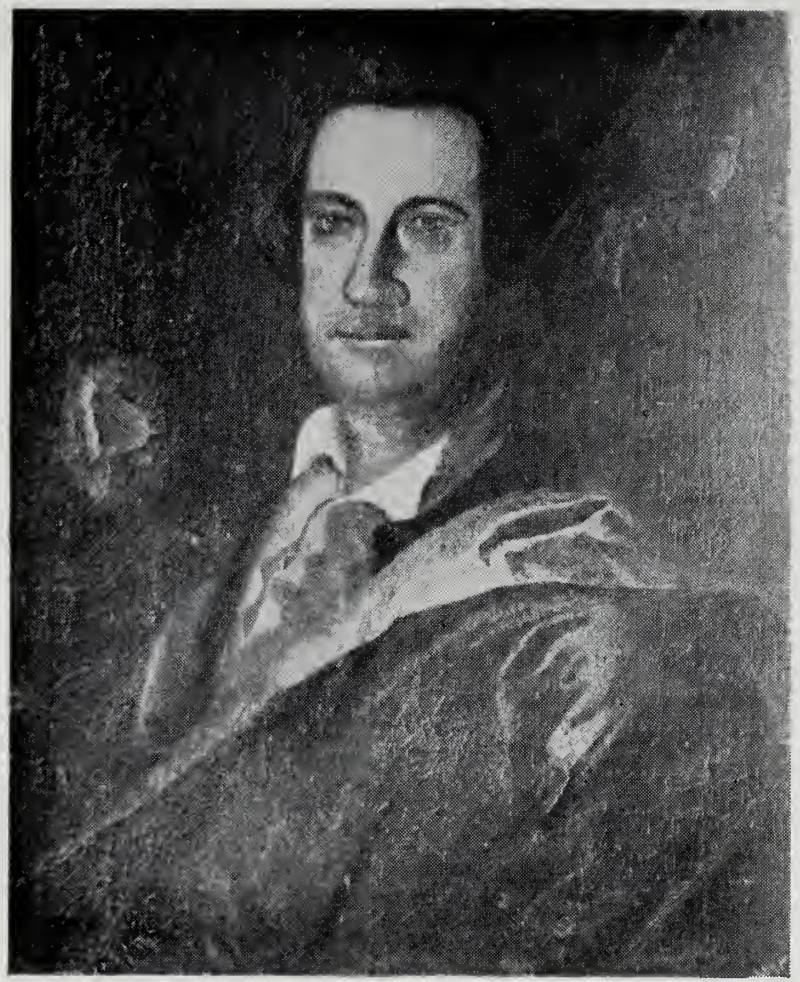
[1] Also spelt *Reid* in various papers of the Hollyday family at the Maryland Historical Society. The patent calls for 1000 acres but upon resurvey in 1731 the tract was found to contain within the original bounds a total of 1440 acres.

[2] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 110. Oswald Tilghman, comp., *History of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 46-47; Papers of the Hollyday family, Maryland Historical Society. These papers revise certain statements in the genealogy of the family published by the late Henry Hollyday in this magazine, XXVI, 159-171 (June, 1931) and reprinted the same year.

to Mr. Fahnestock, Dr. James Bordley, Jr., authority on the Hollyday family, and Mr. William B. Marye.

In Maryland, as in the colonies further south, the earliest mansions date from the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century when the effects of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) were becoming manifest. For the first time since the settlement enough slave labor was available to produce the vast quantities of tobacco that were required to finance the building of the great houses that have come to symbolize the plantation life of the South. Readbourne, built by James Hollyday in the 1730's, alone of the major houses of Maryland is contemporary with the first of the Virginia mansions. These, Rosewell, Stratford, and Sabine Hall, were all probably completed simultaneously with Readbourne. However, though the Hollydays were a wealthy family as wealth at that time was rated, their resources did not compare with those of the Carters, Pages, or Lees, builders of the Virginia houses. So Readbourne became a fine house of moderate size, and of livable qualities that certainly the first two of the Virginia houses could not have possessed. Also, instead of being a product of a trained architect working from design books, it was the product of a master-builder inspired by the new style but steeped in traditional English house building. Thus in Readbourne can be seen blending of the two types and the resulting charm that such a blending imparts.

If it may be said that the characteristics of the architecture of Readbourne are perhaps more those of contemporary houses in Virginia than Maryland, it should be remembered that Virginia led the American colonies at that time in architectural development. Its fine public buildings in Williamsburg and its rapidly rising mansions, churches, and court houses in the new style forced the builders of adjacent colonies to turn to it for architectural leadership. Then the Chesapeake Bay and the rivers, great and small, were not barriers, as they are now, only crossed by bridge or ferry, but they were the arteries of transportation and brought Maryland and north-eastern Virginia closer, rather than divided them. So John Ariss, the architect of Westmoreland County, Virginia, advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* for commissions in 1751, rather than in the *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, and it seems possible that as many of his houses stand in



COLONEL JAMES HOLLYDAY, 1695–1747

Artist Unknown

Collection Dr. and Mrs. James Bordley

MRS. JAMES HOLLYDAY, 1683–1755

(SARAH COVINGTON LLOYD)

By Gustavus Hesselius

Collection Dr. and Mrs. James Bordley

WEST OR RIVER FRONT OF READBOURNE

This and the cover photograph are by Laird Wise, Easton

ARCHITECT'S DRAWING OF READBOURNE GROUP

ENTRANCE HALL, LOOKING EAST TOWARD STONE STEP ROOM

Photo, Laird Wise, Easton

Maryland on the Eastern Shore and in and near Annapolis as in Virginia.

In Readbourne, built many years earlier, the exterior and interior trim has much in common with houses on the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers and certainly in them the interchange of ideas can be seen. For instance the use of the new " bisection " panel mould advocated in William Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis* is perhaps first seen in Virginia in Stratford and Sabine Hall and in Maryland at Readbourne, and the curious and interesting interior window trim of Readbourne is a reflection of that of earlier Indian Banks on the Rappahannock. The latter is indeed in many ways suggestive as a prototype for Readbourne both in form and detail. It is easy to see, however, that the plan of Readbourne is an adaptation of neighboring Maryland plans, as exemplified by Clover Field. Here, in another Queen Anne's County house, is much the same plan at smaller scale, and it is a plan that evolved from those of the ancient English farm and manor houses.

In both of these the house was entered at the center, the door leading into the end of a long room called the hall, or great room. A smaller room occupied the end of the house and was entered from the hall. It should be noted that this produced a building one room in depth which was characteristic of traditional house-building in England and the Southern colonies. In simpler houses, both in Maryland and Virginia, the stair was in the great room, but in finer houses, as in Bond Castle (now destroyed), the stair was in a separate space, often called a stair tower and attached to the rear of the building. In Clover Field a significant development took place in that a central hall was partitioned off from the great room, thus producing two equal rooms, one on either side of a narrow hall or corridor that led to the stair tower. In this way privacy was provided for both the rooms and stair hall, such as John Thorpe had first brought to the great English houses in the closing years of the sixteenth century. This lapse of time shows how long the dissemination of ideas took in traditional architecture while in academic architecture a new idea might find immediate adoption by publication in style or design books.

In Readbourne, then, there is the ancient English arrangement of a single depth of rooms with a stair tower projecting from the

rear (now entrance) wall. The center corridor of Clover Field here becomes a spacious entrance salon, and the stair tower, developed to unusual size, is divided by a transverse wall to provide not only a stair hall but a small reception hall below, called the Stone Step Room. Originally there were two large chambers on the second floor, one over each large room below, a small room over the Stone Step Room and a small center room and a hall over the entrance hall. This arrangement was modified in the changes of 1791 and 1928. The great stair rises to the attic in two successive flights corresponding to those below. The attic is unfinished and once led to a cupola on the roof. This feature is shown on an old survey and referred to in a plantation document, but there is no knowledge of when it was removed; perhaps it was in the 1791 alterations. The basement was also unfinished, showing the inside face of the exterior brick walls (there were no brick partition walls), the foundation of the south chimney and the timbers of the first floor framing. The base of the north chimney is within a vaulted wine cellar, a pair of which occupy the north end of the basement.

The main house at Readbourne stood little changed from the date of building for two hundred years. Then the entire interior woodwork was removed, except for minor fragments. This was, indeed, unfortunate as Readbourne was the earliest and finest of Maryland's mansions and should have been preserved intact as a monument. When Mr. William Fahnestock, Jr., purchased the property in 1940 the house had lost much of its original character and finish both outside and in. However, in the last nine years he and Mrs. Fahnestock have made amends for the mistakes of the past and preserve Readbourne with its landscape setting, structure, and decorations in complete and harmonious accord.

The exterior of the house was originally like that of the center section of the house as now restored except that the south end was covered in the extensions of 1791 and the north end by those of 1948. The façade of the mansion is toward the west and the river. It is symmetrical in design with a center doorway flanked by a pair of windows on either side and above is a range of five windows. The present limestone steps to the front door are a restoration based on the original foundation, and take the place of a large wood verandah built about the middle of the nineteenth century. The house is entirely built of large pink sandstruck

brick laid in Flemish bond, and the buff mortar joints are of yellow river sand and oyster shell lime. It is interesting to note that the west front of the main house is built of brick carefully selected for even color and for lack of glazed headers. On the sides and east front, however, there is a wide range of color and many glazed headers show in the masonry. Not only the careful selection of the brick shows that the west front was the important one, but the trimming of the window openings and corners of the house with rubbed vermillion brick and the use of gauged brick arches over the openings. The windows here have richly jointed flat arches, while those of the east front have segmental arches of common brick.

When the west verandah was added in the nineteenth century the original doorway was widened. Fortunately, however, the upper part of the old semicircular arched head was left in position and from this the opening was restored. This is the earliest of arched doorways in American domestic architecture, according to the distinguished authority, Fiske Kimball. The woodwork of the doorway is a restoration based on contemporary examples. To mark the line of the second floor there is a projecting belt course, but on account of the height of the doorway arch the belt course had to be raised here, much as a label or drip mould was treated in Gothic and Jacobean architecture. At Clover Field a reminiscent treatment occurs on the gable ends. The window above the doorway at Readbourne is also arched and has also a "keystone" of brick, carved with three convex channels or flutes. All of the windows have broad moulded frames hewn out of solid timbers, but those on the river front were so deeply weathered by the storms that sweep across the Chester River that they had to be replaced. The original sashes of the 1731 house had been replaced by new ones in the nineteenth century. The large lights of glass and the narrow muntins, or glazing bars, detracted from the scale and character of the house and new sashes were installed, designed after old examples. These have twelve lights in each sash instead of six and have muntins 1¼ inches wide instead of ¾ inches. On the end of the T on the land side were three narrow windows, one in the Stone Step Room, one on the first flight of the stair, and one on the second. As the upper one was useless for providing light and was curiously assymmetric in location, it was removed and the opening bricked up. It might be noted that the

lower window shed no light on the stair until the paneling was removed about 1928. Now this is covered by a grille, level with the first landing, of balusters as at, for example, Shirley in Virginia.

The entrance door to the Stone Step Room, in the south court, had been trimmed (recently) with Doric pilasters. These were removed and a door and frame consonant with the old work installed.

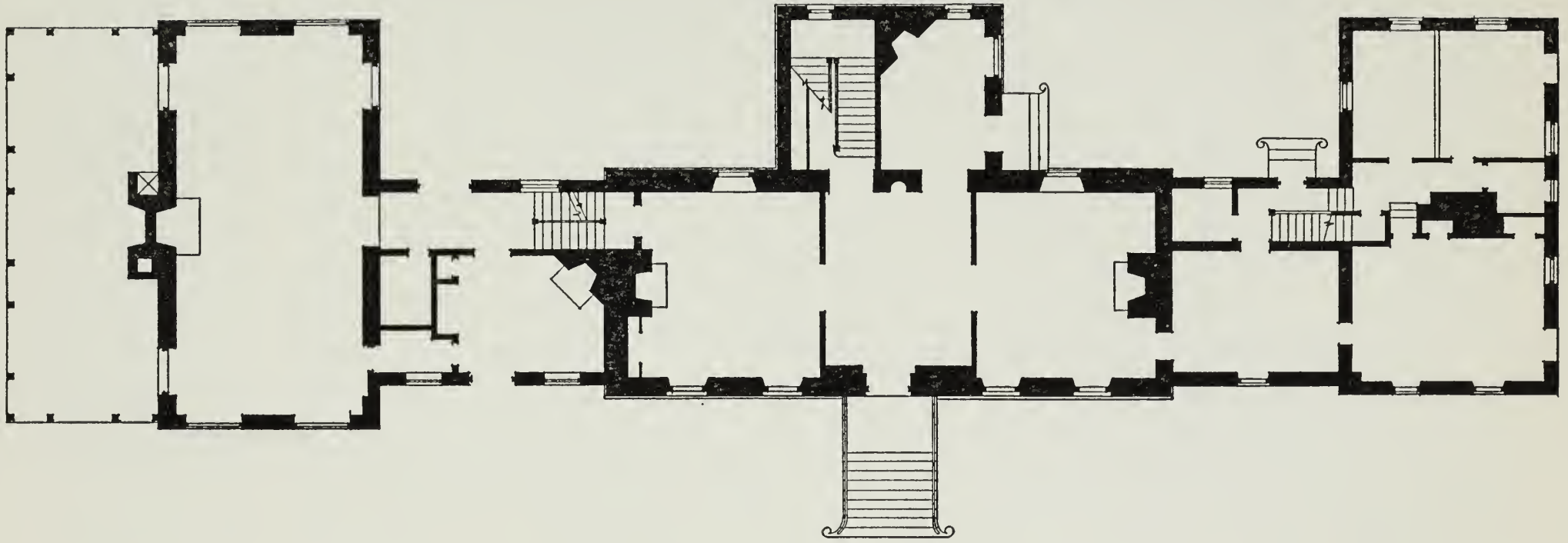
A notable feature of the exterior is the fine main cornice. This is unusually heavy and has large, closely spaced modillions. The crown and bed moulds of the cornice are characteristic of the period.

The south wing and connection built about 1791 are in the style of that period. The roof is lower in pitch than the old one and terminates on the east and west faces of the wing as a pediment. On the river side, in order to get larger windows, the horizontal cornice across the pediment was omitted, but in order to restore the architectural character to this elevation, the windows were cut down and the cornice carried across in the recent work. The fenestration of the river front of the wing has obviously been changed and this apparently was due to a shifting of the floor levels. The exterior of the wing has trim characteristic of the period with narrower window frames and lighter muntins, and the cornice is enriched with a rope moulding. The interior has some doors and trim and a mantel of the 1791 period and while agreeable and interesting they are not important.

In the 1947-48 work a modern addition in the form of an arcaded loggia to the south wing was removed. A passage was rebuilt here as nearly as possible to match the 1791 wall, still in place some five feet further west. It might be noted that the south connection covered two narrow closet windows on each floor in the main house, and a cellar entrance in the southwest corner.

A north wing and connection were built to recall the south wing of 1791 but as the latter was too small for the accommodations required, the connection was lengthened and the wing widened, but so little that the asymmetry is hardly noticeable. The fenestration recalls that of 1791 but the windows are larger and more numerous. In the first floor of the wing, exceptionally large windows were used in the east and west fronts to take

East Front



FLOOR PLAN OF READBOURNE, 1948

The length of the house, including the north porch, is 162 feet, width of central part, 41 feet.
The land entrance in the east front opens directly into the Stone Step Room.

advantage of the fine views. These are almost identical with the windows in the Wye House orangery. The brick in the new building came from ruined store houses near the water front at Harper's Ferry and was laid to match the brickwork of the 1730's. The variation of the 1791 masonry may be noted: smaller brick of redder color and narrow joints.

The interior of Readbourne was radically changed before 1928 when the old panelling and stair were removed for installation at Winterthur in Delaware. It was planned that new panelling be installed to match the old in the recent restoration of the house. However, the difficulty of obtaining suitable materials for the panelling made this impracticable, and new trim in the style of the eighteenth century was used. The entrance hall and the two flanking rooms have plain dados with richly moulded caps and bases, and cornices at the ceiling line. In the dining room, at the right and drawing room, at the left are mantels in the style of those in the Hammond-Harwood house in Annapolis. The former mantel is designed without enrichments and the latter with scrolled and carved brackets supporting the shelf. The drawing room is notable for its beautiful new hand painted wallpaper of floral plants and birds with brilliant plumage specially painted in China for the house.

The east end of the hall is paneled, with a pair of wide arches flanking an arched top niche. This is the original arrangement, the right hand arch leading to the Stone Step Room and the left to the stair. The Stone Step Room has the same dado treatment but the chimney-breast, which is at an angle across the corner, is paneled, and the cornice is deepened by the addition of a frieze and architrave. The stair from the first to the second floor is a copy of the original, made in 1928, though the old stair to the attic remains in place. This is notable as one of the earliest of the fine Maryland stairs, with turned walnut balusters, handsomely ramped and moulded hand-rail and scrolled walnut brackets. Around the attic stair-well is a very unusual railing with flat balusters cut to a profile.

Off of the upper hall there was once a good sized room over the front door, but this was modified to provide for two bath rooms and a linen closet in 1928 and that arrangement substantially remains. Over the Stone Step Room is the Morning Room, from which all trim had been removed except the north

wall panelling. This was removed to complete the east wall of the bedroom over the dining room, which had been altered when a passage to the wing was introduced in 1791. This room has one of the chimney closets, enclosed by panelling, and an excellent bolection (or roll moulding) fireplace surround. The balancing bedroom has a delicate pine mantel, with mahogany insets, which was installed about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The trim of the new wing consists of characteristic moulded work corresponding to that in the main house, but the stair, with its Chinese trellis balustrade, is particularly interesting. The design of the trellis was inspired by that at Bushwood, destroyed by fire in 1934. The mahogany brackets at the end of each step are carved and pierced. Mounted on a white painted stringer, they are a novelty to Maryland and are adaptations of similar brackets in the beautiful Stanley house in New Bern, North Carolina.

The whole of the first floor of the wing is occupied by the Great Room which was designed for entertaining and to contain a superb set of painted wall panels by Joseph Vernet. These, dating from the eighteenth century and formerly in Mr. Fahnestock's house in New York, portray idyllic scenes on the Mediterranean and are notable for their beautiful color and composition. A set of four large panels, seven feet wide and nine feet high, flank the entrance door and mantel, and two narrow ones are set between the end windows, one at either end. This room has trim in the Palladian style with the entrance door and mantel crowned by pediments and the other openings with entablatures.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN DORCHESTER COUNTY, 1692-1860

By William H. Wroten, Jr.

IT IS doubtful whether any section of the country in the colonial period was as well-equipped to be self-sustaining as the area around Chesapeake Bay. Especially on the Eastern Shore, away from the centers of commerce, the inhabitants lived with independence and economic self-sufficiency. In Dorchester County[1] the farm lands were fertile, and the growing season entirely adequate; the waterways abounded with fish, the marshlands were ideal refuge for muskrat, wild ducks, swan and geese, and the woods and fields were rich with both edible and fur-bearing game. The people, being supplied with the necessary raw materials for life, worked hard, earned independence, and though kind and generous, tolerated little meddling in their affairs. Most of the county's early settlers came from Virginia, the Western Shore and Kent Island. They were chiefly English, with a slight sprinkling of Irish, Welsh and Scotch.

As in other American colonies, religion played an important role in the lives of these early Maryland settlers, and the building of churches was of primary concern to them. In 1676, Lord Baltimore informed the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> In every county in the Province of Maryland there are sufficient number of Churches and Houses called Meeting Houses for the people . . . these have been built and are still kept in good repair by a free and voluntary contribution of all such as frequent the said Churches and Meeting Houses.[2]

One of these churches was located in Dorchester County.

[1] The exact date of the creation of Dorchester County is not known. Dorchester was represented in the Assembly for the first time in 1668. *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII, 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, V, 133-134.

However, it was not until the Religious Act of 1692 that the Anglican Church was formally established in the Province of Maryland. " For the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion within This Province " [3] all commissioners and justices of each county were called to a meeting, and all freeholders were given a ten day notice to attend.[4] Together, they were to divide the county into districts and parishes, " so many as the conveniency of each respective county and the situation of the same will afford and allow of." The justices and freeholders divided Dorchester County into five hundreds and into two parishes.[5] The divisional line between the two parishes was drawn from the ". . . mouth of the Little Choptank River binding therewith to the head of the North branch of the Black Water River to a plantation now in the tenure or occupation of Benjamin Hurst . . . thence running down the said river on its several courses to the mouth of same." [6] The easternmost part of the division was known as Dorchester Parish; the western part as Great Choptank Parish. The latter was by far the larger of the two as it included part of what is Caroline County today.

Within two months after the parishes were laid out, a second meeting was called by the freeholders, in accordance with the Act of Religion. At this meeting, six of the most able men of each parish were chosen as vestrymen, and were required to take care of all " tobacco, wares, goods, and merchandizes " given to the parish. With the first taxes and donations, the vestrymen were to build a church or chapel in the most convenient place in the parish. The dimensions and proportions of the buildings were left to their decision.[7]

[3] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430.

[4] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 353. An act of the General Assembly said that a freeholder " entitled to vote or to represent county in General Assembly must have a freehold of 50 acres of land or a visible estate of 40 pounds sterling at the least."

[5] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 24. The hundreds were called Hermitage, Great Choptank, Fishing Creek, Nanticoke, and Little Choptank.

[6] *Ibid.*, XX, 66-67. The Dorchester Parish Vestry Records, 1818-1892, in the National Bank, Cambridge, Maryland, give a slightly different definition of the divisional line: " Beginning at the mouth of Little Choptank River and thence running and binding with said river to its head at Winsmore's Bridge; thence in a straight line to the bridge on the county road between the ' S———— House ' Farm and the farm of Joseph Snow at the head of the north branch of Blackwater River; thence in a straight line across the waters of Fishing Bay to the mouth of Island Creek; thence running and binding with said Creek to the head thereof and onward in a due east course to the Nanticoke River, thence with the divisional line between Dorchester and Wicomico and Somerset Counties to Chesapeake Bay, and thence with the waters of said Bay to the beginning."

[7] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430.

At the time of the passage of the Religious Act of 1692 in Maryland, there was only one church in the county, that being " The Church in Dorchester Parish," later named Trinity. It is still standing in its beautiful setting along the banks of a small stream to which it has given the name of Church Creek. The building was originally cruciform, and the old English high-backed pews with doors, the high pulpit with its sounding board, and the slave gallery over the front door could be seen within.[8] The arch in which the chancel was placed has been considered to be one of the most beautiful specimens of colonial architecture. Its marvelous acoustic properties have been commented upon by all who have spoken from the pulpit.

Little is known of its history before 1692, except that it definitely was built before that date and that Reverend John Hewitt was rector from 1686 to 1692. A Mr. Leech was mentioned as having preached there in 1692. In 1693, the vestry of Dorchester Parish was ordered by the Governor and Council to build a chapel of ease, and as these were built only when a church already existed in the same parish, it would seem that the church had already been erected.[9]

At one time, Trinity Church had many valuable possessions, but only two have survived the years. Queen Anne of England, " the patron saint of the churches in the colonies," sent a cushion traditionally said to have been used at her coronation.[10] In the early 1800's, a communion service, bearing an eighteenth century hallmark, vanished from the church. One chalice remains, bearing the inscription " For the Church in Dorchester Parish." The altar, a beautiful Jacobean table, once narrowly escaped destruction when it was found in a pile of lumber in the churchyard, and restored to its rightful place. This table with the fine old mahogany chairs, furnished the chancel in rigid simplicity.

In Great Choptank Parish, the first services were held in the courthouse at Cambridge. This was an exception to the Council's order of 1695 requiring the vestrymen of the Maryland parishes

[8] *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland, Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Thirty Original Parishes in the Province of Maryland in 1692* (n. d.), p. 29.

[9] Ethan Allen Papers, William A. Stewart Ms. Collection, Maryland Historical Society.

[10] The cushion, made of royal purple velvet on white kid, was destroyed in 1939 in a fire at the home of Miss Nettie Carroll of Church Creek, Maryland.

to build churches, where wanting, as fast as possible. Great Choptank Parish was given special permission to use the courthouse for the performance of " Divine Duty and Service," and the vestrymen were authorized to build a chapel of ease in some other convenient place within the parish.[11] This arrangement was not carried into execution, for on May 9, 1696, the House of Burgesses acted on a petition from the vestrymen of Great Choptank, granting them permission to build a church at their convenience.[12] The first house of worship in Cambridge, crudely build of wood, occupied approximately the center of the churchyard, directly facing the courthouse which stood, then as now, across the street.[13]

In both parishes regular attendance at worship was difficult, for few had the constancy or the means to make their way many miles to services through marshes and woods and across streams and inlets. The same obstacles made it difficult for a minister to gain the friendship of the people. In order to attend his parish properly, he needed to be both a good horseman and sailor, and even more, he needed courage and faith to qualify him for the hardships of serving this frontier community.

As the governor usually appointed ministers to the parishes from a list of nominees made by the Bishop of London, and the vestry had to accept his choice, the clergymen at times lacked the proper qualifications.[14] Their conduct at times brought contempt upon the Anglican Church and its officials, a chief failing being drunkenness.[15] Hardly a State or Eastern Shore meeting of the clergy was held that did not mention the need for action on this problem.

Reverend Christopher Wilkinson, commissary of the Eastern Shore, was forced to write to the Bishop of London in 1720 about one of the rectors in the county:

I am sorry to acquaint your Lordship that Mr. Howell has been generally of such irregularity as not only opened the mouths of his enemies, but

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[11] *Md. Arch.*, XIX, 234 and XX, 283.

[12] *Ibid.*, XIX, 359.

[13] Sermon preached by Reverend Frank Lambert on the 250th Anniversary of the building of Christ Church. Reprinted in the Cambridge, Maryland, *Democrat and News*, June 17, 1943.

[14] Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (New York, 1929), p. 267.

[15] Edward Ingle, *Parish Institutions of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883), p. 12.

silenced his very friends, nay, moved them to complain of him, for which he has been admonished by me and some of my Brethren.[16]

Later, Reverend Neil McCullum, rector of Dorchester Parish from 1740 to 1772, was compelled to resign because he was "an unworthy minister."[17] Governor Shape, in a letter of June 1768, referred to him in highly unfavorable terms:

> The truth is that there are among the clergy of this Province some very immoral men in particular a Mr. McCullum in Dorchester County who by reason of his Sottishness has for many years been absolutely unable to officiate in the Church or to discharge any part of his duty.[18]

Naturally, all of this tended to reduce the influence of the Anglican Church. To some observers vice and immorality seemed to be rampant in many sections of the county.[19] Both Church and State made constant efforts to correct these evils. At a Visitation of the Clergy in Annapolis in 1700, the clergy stated that it would endeavor to have the vestrymen assist "as a Religous Society, in suppressing Prophaness and Immorality" within the parishes.[20] In 1703, the rectors in Dorchester County, along with other clergymen of Maryland, tried to get the General Assembly to pass an act saying, in part, that no unbaptized person would be admitted to any office of trust in the government.[21] In June, 1714, Reverend Thomas Thomson of Dorchester Parish, reported that the parish had tables of marriages and that there was a severe law to prevent incestuous marriages. He also stated that he was doing his part to discountenance the sins of drunkeness, swearing, and blasphemy in the parish.[22]

The Maryland Assembly participated in the effort to control the morals of the people by enacting a series of laws which were undoubtedly as unenforceable as they were harsh. For the use of

[16] *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Episcopal Church*, edited by W. S. Perry (Hartford, 5 vols., 1870-1878), IV, 117.
[17] Ethan Allen Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.
[18] *Md. Arch.*, XIV, 50.
[19] Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), p. 44.
[20] Transcripts of the Fulham Palace Records, Maryland Acts of Bray's Visitation, Library of Congress, No. 2, 8.
[21] *Md. Arch.*, XXV, 160-161.
[22] *Synodalia or Records of Clergy Meetings in Maryland between 1695 and 1773*, compiled by Reverend Ethan Allen (Baltimore, 1864), p. 56.

profane language a fine of two shillings, sixpence was imposed for the first offense and of five shillings for the second. In 1732, profanity in the presence of a vestryman or churchwarden was made especially punishable. For drunkards the early punishments were at first notably severe—for the first offense, "boring through the tongue" and a fine of twenty pounds sterling or six months imprisonment; for the second offense, branding on the forehead with the letter B and forty pounds sterling or twelve months; for the third offense, death. Later, the punishment for drunkenness, if the guilty person was not a freeholder or other respectable person, was reduced to confinement in the stocks or public flogging.[23] Fines and whipping seem also to have been the standard retribution for having illegitimate children. One woman was fined 500 pounds of tobacco for having an illegitimate child, while another received fifteen lashes on her bare back for "having born of her body a bastard child." [24]

The observance of Sunday was strictly required by law. Working, gaming, fishing, fowling, hunting or other forms of diversion were forbidden. Even slaves were not allowed to labor. Innkeepers, who sold liquor on Sunday, except in cases of necessity, or who permitted tippling on their premises were liable to a fine of 200 pounds of tobacco. These provisions had to be read publicly by the clergy four times a year. If they failed to perform this duty they could be fined. The clergy at one time asked the General Assembly to pass a new act of religion which would penalize "those professing themselves Protestants, but never attending the worship of God." [25]

The Anglican Church constantly attempted to solve these problems. At Visitations of the Clergy, many lectures were delivered on the bad behavior of the clergymen and also on how to improve the morals of the parishioners. The vestry in each parish was required to set up a table of marriage laws, and to do all that was possible to prevent infringements of such. In 1700, a fine of 5000 pounds of tobacco was placed on all priests, magistrates, and parties involved in forbidden marriages. Anyone failing to notify the vestry of any birth, marriage or death in his family

[23] Theodore C. Gambrall, *Church Life in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1885), p. 113, found no record of the reason for using B instead of D or some other letter.
[24] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[25] *Md. Arch.*, XIII, 426; Gambrall, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Allen, *Synodalia,* p. 49.

was liable to fine. The vestrymen were to act as censors of the parish morals and were to judge what was right or wrong.[26] They had the power to set up a moral code for the whole parish.

The governing body for the Anglican Church in each parish was the vestry. Within two months after the parishes were laid out, all the freeholders met and elected six men to fill the positions. An act at the beginning of the eighteenth century stated that there were to be two new vestrymen chosen each year.[27] On Easter Monday, all freeholders gathered at the church for the election of new vestrymen, and any man who refused to serve without good reason was fined 1000 pounds of tobacco. If for any reason a vacancy occurred during the year, the remaining vestrymen had the right to choose a new man.

All vestrymen had to subscribe to a special oath of office and the general oath of allegiance. During the reign of Queen Anne, they had to proclaim their allegiance to her and not to the pretender to the throne.[28] The oaths, at first, were administered by the principal vestryman. The vestrymen were not usually chosen because they openly professed religion, but because they were well-known men of good character, for it was believed that such men would not abuse the confidence placed in them.

It was the duty of the minister to summon the vestrymen for meetings, which were usually held about once a month. Three members plus the minister constituted a quorum, and sometimes absent members were fined unless they could present an adequate excuse. Even under these conditions many vestry meetings had to be postponed because not enough were present to conduct a meeting. In some years the vestry met only two or three times, yet in other years they met as often as twenty or twenty-five times. This was usually the case when funds were needed or there were plans to be discussed concerning repairs for the church, or building of a new chapel.

The vestry was a corporate body and acted as custodian for the church, its lands and funds, with authorization to accept donations for the church and to sue, if need be, for things belonging to the church. They were required by law to appoint a registrar to make entries of births, deaths, marriages and baptisms

[26] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 295; Ingle, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18; *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 91.
[27] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 265.
[28] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 418.

in the books.[29] The proceedings of the vestry also were to be recorded by a clerk or registrar, who received his pay from the vestrymen. These records were to be sent to Annapolis, but the Province had trouble getting the two parishes to comply, and repeatedly the Council had to call on them to send in their records, and had to prosecute persons responsible.

The churchwardens were appointed by the vestrymen each year. It was their duty to care for the church and grounds, the church linens and plates, and to provide bread and wine for the communion service.[30] The rector sometimes relieved the warden of the latter duty. The expenses involved in such duties were paid for out of parish funds. For the purpose of income, the vestry was required to obtain and keep a list of all the taxables in each parish. This was one of the most important functions of the vestry, for church revenue came from a tax of forty pounds of tobacco which was levied on each taxable person and collected by the sheriff for a fee not exceeding five percent.[31]

The vestry turned over to the minister the tobacco from taxes in payment of his salary, or if there was no minister in the parish, the income was used for repairing the church and purchasing needed equipment. Where the church was old and not fit for use, or beyond repair, the tobacco could be used to buy a plantation or land for a glebe, and if enough tobacco remained, the glebe was to be stocked and improved. The vestry was authorized to build chapels, if they thought there was a need and providing they had the funds.[32] In case funds were lacking to repair the church the vestry was authorized to petition the county court to levy a special tax not to exceed ten pounds of tobacco per year.

With little to offer, it became a matter of great difficulty to secure able, pious ministers. The insufficient salaries, the hardships of a frontier, and the questionable tenure that the county offered were not tempting to many clergymen. At times, the vestry had to resort to placing advertisements in the newspapers in hopes of getting a minister:

[29] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430, XXIV, 91.
[30] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 91.
[31] *Ibid.*, XIII, 424-430; XIII, 538, states that taxables were all males from sixteen years and over except clergymen and " such poor and impotent " persons that received alms from the county; and all slaves both male and female; *ibid.*, XXIV, 91.
[32] *Ibid.*, XXIV, 420, XII, 424-440.

Wanted—in Dorchester Parish, in Dorchester County a CURATE. Anyone properly qualified, will meet with good encouragement, by applying to the Vestry of the said Parish.

Signed per order
Roger Jones, Register [33]

The clergy, if they did their work properly, were poorly compensated for the labor and trouble they were compelled to undergo. According to law, the ministers were to receive, after the sheriff's fee was deducted, the forty pounds of tobacco collected from the taxables, but the tobacco received was not usually of a superior grade. The rector of Dorchester Parish once reported that the yearly value of his living was about thirty-five pounds sterling " which is a small salary for the trouble and pains I take in my parish." The rector of Great Choptank Parish was more fortunate for he received 150 pounds sterling yearly, but he claimed the emergencies of his family made it necessary for him to spend it too soon in the year, and that he was unable to make the best advantage of this fund because of the distresses of the needy in his parish.[34]

The clergy always feared passage of acts which might reduce their income. Even though the parishes were too large for one man to tend properly, Thomas Howell and Thomas Thomson in 1717 called on the Bishop of London to use his influence to keep the General Assembly from reducing the size of the parishes " for it would cause economic hardships on the clergy." [35] The tax of forty pounds of tobacco met with bitter opposition, for there were many who thought it unfair to contribute toward a church which they could not attend either because of location or beliefs. Efforts to repeal the act were resisted by the clergy on the grounds that, without this income, the parishes would be unable to pay a tolerable subsistence for even " a single man and his horse." [36] Petitions were sent to the king, the Bishop of London, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel asking their help when there was talk of regulating the value of tobacco or cutting down the church's share. The ministers attempted to influence the government to limit the amount of tobacco which could be raised

[33] *The Maryland Gazette*, May 19, 1768.
[34] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 219, 230.
[35] Allen, *Synodalia*, p. 64.
[36] Fulham Palace, Md., No. 145, 3.

in the colony, thus insuring them a high price. Further, in 1724, they addressed a letter to the king asking permission to ship to England a ton or two of their tobacco duty free.[37]

The minister was often able to make small additions to his income by teaching school, and from fees for performing marriages. An act of 1700 allowed ministers to collect five shillings for each marriage.[38] It was not unusual for the minister to receive a fee for delivering a sermon at the funeral of a wealthy parishioner. It is doubtful, however, whether the clergy netted much from these fees, for they were required to hire a clerk and pay him 1000 pounds of tobacco yearly to prevent illegal marriages. Among the other privileges of the clergy were exemption from taxes and from service in the militia.

Neither of the parishes in Dorchester provided a house or glebe for the rector. In this respect the parishes had less to offer than many of their sister parishes of the Province. The rectors were forced to find their own living quarters or pay someone to build for them. Often, they grew food and raised meat to save some expense. In 1750 the vestry of Great Choptank Parish was permitted to lease some of the parish lands in order to supplement the rector's income.[39]

The Acts of Religion in Maryland required that the ministers use the Book of Common Prayer and administer the Sacraments and other ceremonies of the church according to the "use of the Church of England." It was necessary at times in the county to administer the sacraments without the prescribed vestments and without proper ornaments and vessels. Reverend Mr. Howell of Great Choptank Parish in 1724 reported to the Bishop that:

> For want of a competent number of communicants and necessaries for he decent administration of the Lord's Supper, the same is not yet so frequently administered as I could desire, but however not less than four times in the year.

He ended on a more hopeful note, observing that ". . . there is of late something of a fund beginning for these holy uses."[40] In the same year Reverend Mr. Thomson of Dorchester Parish reported a much more unsatisfactory situation in his parish:

[37] Allen, *Synodalia*, pp. 104, 133, 135, 137.
[38] *Md. Arch.*, XXIV, 91.
[39] Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1765), Ch. 19, 1750.
[40] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 219.

With great regret of mind I declare that as yet my parishioners have not been prevailed with to provide the necessaries for the decent performance of Divine Services, having neither surplice, pulpit cloth, nor linen, or vessel for the communion table, nor any prospect of any as I can perceive by the inclination of my parishioners to provide such.[41]

Until 1692, the people worshipped according to the English Book of Common Prayer, and services were conducted with this and with the Psalms of David. The minister was required to read solemnly the morning and evening prayers. In 1700, it was agreed to preach a " scheme of Divinity " to the people and to impress on them the " Doctrines of Christianity." Special effort was made to emphasize the importance of the ' festivals of the Church." [42]

Besides the public services, the ministers gave private " admonitions and exhortations," and administered to the sick and needy. It was also their duty to read the King's Proclamations, Acts of the State (concerning religion), and to preach upon the duties of the magistrates against profanity and immorality. This was to be done during the days specified for church services.

Because the number of ordained ministers was insufficient for the needs of the people, lay readers had to be used at times. Although this practice prevented the administration of the sacraments, there was little else to do unless the people were to be denied services of any kind for long periods. When there was no minister available, the vestry provided some " sober and discreet " person to read prayers for the congregation. In all services conducted by lay readers the law ordered that the first and second lessons be read and that the people stand and kneel as directed by the " Rubrick." [43]

It seems that there were many in the parishes who abstained from baptism—not only children but adults. The ministers frequently preached upon the nature and necessity of this sacrament. However, opposition and prejudice of the people seemed stronger against the practice of designating godparents than any other institution of the church. The minister did what he could to have the congregation understand the reasons and uses of such " securities " to the church.[44]

[41] *Ibid.*, IV, 230.
[42] Visitation of Dr. Bray, Fulham Palace, Md., No. 1, 6.
[43] *Md. Arch.*, XX, 283.
[44] Fulham Palace, Md., No. 1, 7.

Little was done for the conversion of the " infidels "—negroes, mulattoes, and Indians. Some early reports show that many negroes and mulattoes were baptized, with new candidates every day. Yet, in 1731, the rectors of the two Dorchester parishes reported that they had " taken pains to convince " the people of the necessity of having their negroes instructed, but the people, although inclined to agree, would not usually take the trouble to have it done.[45] Little seems to have been done for the Indians. In 1724 the rectors reported that the Indians were living " under the free government of their own petty princes, of whose conversion there has as yet no public means been used, but provisions now are resolved upon."

As the population in the county increased and expanded chapels of ease were needed to give partial relief to the people at great distances from Church Creek and Cambridge.[46] In 1696, the Governor had given the vestrymen of Dorchester County permission to erect two chapels, one in each parish, provided there was enough " tobacco lying in Banck." [47] They were to be located where the major part of the people would receive the benefits. Thirteen years passed before the first partial relief came, for it was not until 1709 that the first chapel of ease was built in Vienna. Soon afterwards, chapels were established at East New Market, near Feredalsburg on Hunting Creek, at Taylor's Island, and at Cornersville.

The people in the districts around Williamsburg, Federalsburg, and bordering on the Province of Delaware were dissatisfied with this arrangement. In 1724, they petitioned the Province of Maryland to divide Great Choptank Parish, and the Assembly granted their petition the next year when Great Choptank was divided into two parishes.[48] The new parish was given the name of St. Mary's White Chapel. For only a few more years did it remain as part of Dorchester County, and then shortly before the Revolution it was incorporated into the newly erected county of Caroline.

[45] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 218-219, 304-305. It should be noted that in early times the mulattoes were made property of the Church. They acted as servants for the ministers. When this old system was abolished, a petition was sent to the King in 1724 asking that it be restored. Allen, *Synodalia*, p. 104.

[46] Some of the people lived as far as twenty-five or thirty miles from either church.

[47] *Md. Arch.*, XX, 451.

[48] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 580-581. For boundaries of the new parish, see Bacon, *op cit.*, Ch. 10, 1725.

Even though some of these chapels had larger congregations or more members than the parish church, they were usually without a legal vestry and had no delegates to represent them in the conventions. Their funds, records, and business were managed by the parish vestry, and relations between them were not always friendly. The parishioners of Vienna Chapel protested to the Council in 1730 when it was planned to build another chapel within five miles of the old one. The vestry of Great Choptank Parish was called before the Assembly in Annapolis to answer the complaint, and although the new chapel would have been built by voluntary contributions, the Assembly ruled that the vestry had no right to build a new chapel without proper application.[49]

Until the beginning of the Revolution services were held every Sunday in Great Choptank Parish, but not at the same church or chapel. Two Sundays, usually the second and fourth, were reserved for the church in Cambridge, while the chapels in East New Market and Vienna had services only once a month, the first and third Sundays, respectively. If there were a fifth Sunday in the month, services were held at the chapel on Hunting Creek. During the months when there were not five Sundays, a week day was appointed for this latter service.

In Dorchester Parish, whenever the people had a rector of their own, services were held in the old church two Sundays each month. In a month having five Sundays, a third service was held there. The other two services were at the chapel of ease or at Taylor's Island. Week day appointments were made for services on the lower islands.

The clergy soon recognized the importance of instructing the youth of the church.[50] All children under nine were encouraged to learn by heart the church catechism and the morning and evening prayers. The same interest was taken in the group aged from nine to thirteen. Parents were persuaded to bring the children to church for public examination. The ministers visited the homes for the examination when it was possible, if the families lived a long distance from the church. The young people over thirteen were expected to read such books on religion as would be instructive to them, especially those that would teach them the " Nature,

[49] *Md. Arch.*, XXV, 527-529.
[50] Fulham Palace, Md., No. 1, 4.

Terms and Conditions of the Convenant Grace . . . in order to introduce them to the Lord's Supper and in order they may lead a good life." On Sundays the ministers frequently met with this group to discuss their latest readings. Sometimes special meetings were called to teach the children the new "Versions of the Psalms" according to the best tunes.

To assist them in their educational efforts the ministers asked the stewards of the religious societies in London to try to provide each parish with a servant capable of singing the Psalms. Of course, there were other requirements that the man had to fill before the job was his. He had to be able to write, for he would act also as clerk of the parish. And since it was almost impossible to find good workmen to help build the churches or chapels, they wished him to be acquainted with one of the crafts. In 1700 Mr. Howell, who was at this time the rector of both parishes, specifically asked for a bricklayer. The applicant was to be allowed £10 for his passage, and would receive lodging and ten pounds per year during the four years he would be bound to the church.[51]

The chief drawback to the plan of letting the older children read to improve their understanding of the Anglican Church and the sacraments was the scarcity of such works. Each parish was expected to maintain a library of classical and theological works for the use of the minister. Any damage to the books brought a fine of triple the cost, and when the minister moved he had to turn over the library in as good condition as possible. The vestry of Great Choptank Parish did its job well, and the parochial library was preserved and kept in good condition. In Dorchester Parish, however, the vestry neglected its duty, and the parish had no parochial library. This caused Rev. Mr. Thomson to write in 1724 that "this has been and still is a great discouragement and detriment to myself and several others of my well-disposed people who are addicted to reading." [52]

Even though there was much opposition to the Acts of Religion passed by the Province, and notwithstanding the hardships under which the ministers and people had to work, most of the people belonged to the Anglican Church. It made progress and was prospering, especially in the decade just before the Revolutionary

[51] *Ibid.*, No. 1, 5.
[52] Perry, *op. cit.*, IV, 230.

War; the churches and chapels were crowded, contention on religion was hardly known and there was great harmony in the parishes. This was to be expected for there was little competition from other sects during these years.[53]

The Revolution terminated the placid calm that had settled over the Anglican Church in Maryland. With its English affiliations it was inevitable that it suffer from the Tory stigma. Most of the clergymen were not natives of the colonies, and in many cases had arrived only a few years before from the British Isles. For the most part they remained loyal both by oath and action to the mother country. When offered the chance to become citizens of Maryland, they refused to take the necessary oath. Except for a few (mainly in the lower part of the county), the people of Dorchester County supported the Revolutionary cause, producing a real conflict between the ministers and their congregations. As this feeling became more intense, the clergymen were removed from their parishes.[54] As ministers were educated and ordained in England and sent to the parishes by the Bishop of London, replacements were not available and the congregations dispersed.

Apart from the political dissensions which operated to split the Anglican church apart, it suffered from another and even more serious danger—that of Methodism. From 1692 to 1779, except for a few Catholics and Quaker families in the outlying districts, the Protestant Episcopal Church had had almost complete authority over the religious life of Dorchester County. This authority was challenged for the first time by the advent of Methodism in 1779. Itinerant Methodist preachers converted many by their unusual manner of emotional and enthusiastic preaching. Fervor, having been once produced, was maintained and supported by a continued change of preachers, for the Methodist system required very little money. In 1807 Rev. James Kemp of Great Choptank Parish wrote:

> Many well-meaning people were drawn away from her, not considering the crime of which they were guilty, tearing asunder the body of Christ. Others, when they were brought to a sense of their sins, were taught not

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[53] *Md. Arch.*, XX, 283.

[54] Phillip Hughes, who became rector of the Great Choptank Parish in 1773, was forced to leave in 1777 because of his opposing political principles. Ethan Allen, *Clergy in Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 7.

to consider themselves safe till they had deserted the Church; and while they were endeavouring to escape the wrath of God, for their former iniquities, were cutting themselves off from the blessing of a true gospel-church.[55]

By 1800 the Methodists were so well entrenched that they became the dominant religious sect in the county. As a result of the losses to the Methodists and the deprivation of state support during the Revolution, the Protestant Episcopal Church was left in such a depleted state that almost sixty years elapsed before it was once again on a sound foundation.

During the rectorship of John Bowie in Great Choptank Parish (1786-1790) the first efforts were made to reestablish the Protestant Episcopal Church upon a firm basis since the beginning of the Revolution.[56] In 1788 he laid before the vestry a plan of subscription to raise money for a new church building. The old structure at this time was so wretched that money spent for repairs was actually money thrown away. The church was in such condition " that even the healthy and robust during the winter season hazarded their health by attending Divine Service." Because of the difficulties existing from a scarcity of money, and perhaps from the general indifference prevailing among the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, little was done at this time except to make plans to raise the necessary funds.

Reverend Mr. Bowie gave public notice in 1789 that the vestrymen had decided to introduce a system of donations found to be successful in other churches and societies—a box would be placed in the church to receive donations for the purpose of keeping the old church in decent order. Also, it was agreed to raise a subscription of fifteen hundred pounds to erect the new building, and to give first choice of pews to those donating the money. This decision came from the charge that for the past thirty or forty years, many who never frequented the church or contributed to its support held the best pews.[57]

[55] *Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1807), p. 12.

[56] John Bowie, a native of Prince George County, had been such an ardent loyalist during the Revolution that he was imprisoned in 1777 while in Worcester County. Allen, *Clergy in Maryland*, p. 13; Lucy Leigh Bowie, " Reverend John Bowie, Tory," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1943), 141-161.

[57] Great Choptank Parish Vestry Records, 1788-1886, pp. 4-6. The Anglican Churrh in the colonies became in 1786, the " Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

When Reverend Bowie left in 1790, the vestry was fortunate in obtaining the services of Reverend James Kemp.[58] He agreed to preach every other Sunday at Christ Church in Cambridge, and alternate Sundays at Vienna and Castle Haven, if arrangements could be made. A progressive and ambitious minister, he probably did more for the Protestant Episcopal Church in Dorchester County than any of the ministers preceding him. Shortly after he entered the parish in 1791, a subscription was begun for a new churchyard wall; and in order that there be money for upkeep of the old wall, a tax of three shillings and nine pence was levied on every corpse interred within the graveyard.[59]

Later, that year, two plans were drawn up for the new church—one plan for a building to cost 750 pounds, and the other not to exceed 1000 pounds, the plan used to depend upon the amount raised by subscription. As the money from subscription was coming in too slowly, the following year the vestry agreed upon a lottery in order to procure an additional thousand dollars.[60]

In November of 1792, the old church was in such bad condition that in order to make it somewhat more comfortable for another winter, the parishioners were called upon from the pulpit, "to send hands, and planks, and nails . . . to plank up the broken windows."[61] In December, contracts were finally let for the construction of the long-planned new church.

As in other churches, the women of the county parishes did much to raise money for the church. The ladies, in 1810, contributed $78.50 to buy a new stove, which was much needed. A few months earlier they had played a large part in helping to secure a new organ. One of their enterprising plans caused much heated discussion in Cambridge. When money was needed for books and repairs in 1831, the ladies decided to have a fair. Many months in advance, notices were given of the coming event, so even six months before the time, letters were written to the *Cambridge Chronicle* opposing and defending the plan. One man, who signed his name "Civis," wrote that such a thing was

[58] Reverend Mr. Kemp immigrated to Maryland in 1787 and was for two years a private tutor to a family in Dorchester County. He had been "educated" a Presbyterian, but on becoming converted to the Protestant Episcopal Church he took up studies for the ministry under the direction of Reverend Mr. Bowie and was ordained by Bishop White, December 26, 1789.

[59] Great Choptank Parish Vestry Records, p. 38.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

immoral and should not be allowed.[62] He thought it disgraceful for men to be enticed by the charms of church ladies to buy with their hard-earned money, wares they did not really want. The ladies, however, went ahead with their plans and held a very successful fair.

In 1807, there had been one hundred and eighty communicants in Great Choptank Parish, and at that time the Parish had four places of worship, a church and three chapels. The chapel at East New Market, lately built, was still in an unfinished state. The other two, Vienna and Castle Haven, were in a state of decay. During the early years of the nineteenth century, it was the duty of the rector at Christ Church in Cambridge to serve all four places of worship.

Reverend James Kemp, in 1810, thought that the principal obstacle to religion in his parish, was, " a most infatuating rage for dissipation." As a means of combating this state of affairs, a series of weekly lectures was instigated by Mr. Kemp.[63] New members began to join the Protestant Episcopal Church, and by the end of the year, he could report a substantial increase in membership. At Vienna there was a revival of interest, and the entire chapel was repaired.

With the departure of James Kemp in 1812, the Protestant Episcopal Church entered its most critical period since the Revolutionary War.[64] Again, there were serious losses in membership. For two years (1813-1815), the parish did not even have the services of a minister. Between 1815 and 1849 the church in Cambridge had the services of no less than six ministers, each in his own way trying to reestablish the church to its once proud position. In 1820, of the four houses of worship, only the church in Cambridge was in good condition. The one in Vienna was definitely in need of repairs, while the other two chapels were ready to collapse. At this time, the church seemed to have taken on a defeatist attitude. The vestry in May 1820, talked of taking down the two chapels and selling the materials, since they had been neglected for a long time and there was no prospect of congregations

[62] Cambridge, Md., *Chronicle*, January 28, 1832.

[63] *Journal ofthe Convention ofthe Protestant Episcopal Church, 1810*, pp. 23-24.

[64] Reverend Mr. Kemp was called to take over St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore. Not only had Kemp been an important leader in the county, but in the state as well. For many years he had held influential offices with the Diocesan Convention, and within a few years he was to become Bishop of Maryland.

assembling in them. Things were not bright, for the parish was without funds or glebe lands, and only about forty families attended services in the two churches still in use.

Although conditions were in such a state at the beginning of this period, certain positive gains were made for the good of the church and community. Attempts were made to revive interest in religion by establishing two separate Sunday schools, one for the whites and one for the negroes. A few years later, the minister began instructing small catechetical and Bible classes, and organized a society for the distribution of religious books and tracts in the parish. Both showed favorable promise. By 1839 the church was opened on Wednesdays for morning prayer and a series of lectures, and in the following year, the minister was able to report that the congregation was larger than it had been for many years. The membership increased, and the responses to the needs of the church and parish improved, so that the parish had fewer financial difficulties during this period. By 1848 it was free of all debt, probably for the first time in the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Dorchester County. Since the Revolution Christ Church in Cambridge had not been in a more prosperous state. These achievements can be attributed to the work of two men more than any others. Reverend Jonathan Judd (1823-1837) who laid the foundation, and Reverend James McKenney (1838-1846) who carried on the work.[65]

For approximately the next fifty years, this church in Cambridge was dominated by the personality and work of Reverend Theodore Barber, who was elected rector in July 1849. He was frequently the only Episcopal minister in the county. Through his efforts, occasional Sunday afternoon services were held at East New Market, Vienna, Church Creek, Taylor's Island, and the Neck District, and a new chapel was built at Cornersville. The new building known as St. John's Chapel, was consecrated in April 1853 by the Right Reverend Henry John Whitehouse, Bishop of Illinois, and for the next few years was regularly attended by nearly 130 worshippers.

The rector then turned his attention to increasing the congregation of Christ Church, and giving it better religious guidance.

[65] Besides the two mentioned above, the following ministers served between 1815 and 1849: James Laird (1815-1816), George Weller (1818-1823), Willie Peck (1838), Thomas J. Wyatt (1846-1849).

In 1854, a large select library was obtained for the Sunday School, and realizing the importance of children to a growing church, Barber chose and trained teachers for their classes. Having started the membership drive on its way, Barber made plans to improve the church building. He convinced the vestry in 1859 that the church needed room for at least one hundred more worshippers. The vestry pledged one thousand dollars for the enlargement, and with it, as Barber predicted, came bigger congregations. To call them to worship and prayer, a fine-toned bell weighing 724 pounds was erected in the tower and was first rung on Christmas morning 1860.

After waiting for more than one hundred and fifty years, Christ Church built a rectory in 1849, using land donated by Governor Goldsborough's heirs.[66] The vestry rented the property until the debt on it was paid. Reverend Barber and his family took possession when the mortgage was paid in 1858.

During these years of gain and recession in Great Choptank Parish, Trinity Church in Dorchester Parish was undergoing an even harder struggle. After the Revolution, with its main source of income gone, and the area now a Methodist stronghold, the church found itself bordering on extinction. Even as late as 1805, the parish had not complied with the new vestry act of January 1799 by choosing a new vestry.[67] There had been no minister for many years, and it was said by Reverend Mr. Kemp that there was no attention whatsoever paid to the condition of the parish. Still, a good many persons were well-disposed toward the old church, and services conducted by visiting ministers were generally attended by a considerable congregation. After studying parish conditions, Kemp reported to the Bishop in 1805: "I have little doubt an industrious and popular clergyman would be able to retrieve its affairs and probably obtain a tolerable salary." However, the people continued, for many years, to depend upon visiting rectors.

Trinity Church had its own minister for only one year between the Revolution and 1808. Reverend Mr. Kemp agreed to give half of his time to the parish between 1808 and 1812, but his efforts were directed mainly toward trying to convince the Bishop of

[66] Dorchester County Court House Records, F. J. H., No. 1, folio 368.
[67] George B. Utley, *The Life and Times of Thomas John Claggett* (Chicago, 1913), p. 104.

the need for a full-time minister, and in building up a large congregation to support the plan. When Kemp left, the parish was vacant again until 1820. Not until 1838 was the parish able to secure the services of a minister, when Thomas Bayne, who served until 1842, agreed to commute from Talbot County across the Choptank River.

Reverend Mr. Harris (1842-1844) believed that when he gave the April sacrament of the Lord's Supper in 1842, it was the first time since Mr. Kemp's services. Besides Trinity Church, Harris also preached at Taylor's Island, held afternoon services at the home of a Mr. Colster about six miles from the parish church, and went to Tobacco Stick which was without a church or chapel. The chapel at Taylor's Island, in this period, was making more progress than the church, for it was in good repair and had lately added a gallery.

In 1836, St. Stephen's and St. Paul's in East New Market and Vienna respectively, were made parishes.[68] But it was many years before they were above mission status. All during this period, they were dependent upon outside help for ministers and money. The cornerstone was laid for a new church at East New Market in 1839, and the church was completed by 1851. However, the congregation which had been large and attentive, had waned by 1854, and only a handful of churchmen was left to assist the minister. In the winter of 1856, services were not held regularly because the vestry could not pay for proper heating of the church building.

The condition of the Vienna parish was well summarized by Meyer Lewin, a missionary to the county in 1844, when he wrote:

> I officiated at Vienna by appointment of the Bishop, every other Sunday, from June 1844 to January 1845. There are not more than 10 or 12 who call themselves churchmen, who provide a room for the Missionary to hold services in. This parish has been almost entirely neglected for the last twenty years; of the few church people that remain, 4 are communicants. Good might be done here by a missionary, though he will have to encounter much opposition from 'ignorance and prejudice'; the services are always better attended than could have been expected, and sometimes the congregations were very large. I resigned this station with very great reluctance.[69]

From 1850 on, Vienna usually had to share a minister with

[68] Allen, *Clergy in Maryland*, pp. 99-100.
[69] *Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1845*, p. 98.

East New Market, or to depend on the help of Mr. Barber of Christ Church. The clergy believed that progress of the church was impeded by lack of a suitable place of worship, services being held at this time in a private room. To remedy this, arrangements were made for the construction of a church building which was finished externally in 1852. The parish was emphatically missionary ground, and as such needed to be sustained and strengthened by the efforts of the missionary society. One minister during this period wrote that the "Zion of God languishes," and other parishes in the state were called on for help with both money and Sunday School books, which were sorely needed.[70] Friends came to the rescue, for in 1855 the church debt was paid off. As late as 1860 conditions in Vienna remained much the same, and it was not until after the appointment of Rev. Mr. Barber to the rectorship that the parish began to grow stronger.

[70] *Ibid.*, 1854, p. 67.

A LONDON SHOPKEEPER'S STRUGGLE TO RECOVER A COLONIAL DEBT, 1763-1769

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

" Seven Months after Date I Promise to Pay to Thos. Wagstaffe or Order Sixty four Pounds Eighteen Shillings & 6d Value Recd.

London ye 25th April 1763

£64.18.6 Charles Ridgely."

This note, given in payment for silverware bought during Capt. Charles Ridgely's last trip to London before he settled down in Maryland as merchant and ironmaster, was the cause for a lengthy series of letters from Thomas Wagstaffe to Capt. Ridgely during the next six years.[1] The correspondence is interesting because it illustrates clearly the difficulties faced by English shopkeepers in their efforts to recover debts from Colonials many miles across the ocean.[2]

Capt. Ridgely purchased Wagstaffe's silver, as he had done in the past, gave the note promising payment in seven months, and then sailed away to Maryland.[3] When the note fell due, no money was forthcoming, and so, after an interval of two more months, the London shopkeeper wrote about it:

London ye 2d Februa 1764

Cha: Ridgely

Esteemd Frd

I have Expected agreable to thine P[er] Capt Walker a line from

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[1] See William D. Hoyt, Jr., " Captain Ridgely's London Commerce, 1757 to 1774," *Americana,* XXXVII (1943), 326-70.

[2] The original letters from Wagstaffe to Ridgely are among the Ridgely Papers in The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

[3] For example, there is a bill for £13.3.6, dated in London, September 28. 1758, for a watch, a seal, and a pair of buckles. This bill apparently was paid on the same day it was presented.

thee from some time butt have not receivd any butt suppose thou will not be long & hope so as Cash in this City is Extreamly Scarce.

Butt one very Material point in writing this Letter is to Enquire after my Brother Richard I hear he has been in Prison perhaps he may be in want do give me a line as speedily as possable & lett me know his Situation I should be willing to help him & will lend him a little Matter if he stands in need & if a Guinea will be of use to him please to Give him it on my acct & I will be answerable to thee—

I shall hope thou will as speedily as possible answer this & it will oblige who am with very kind respect

Thy Assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Seven weeks later, there was another reminder:

London ye 26th March 1764

Cha: Ridgely

Esteemd Frd

Inclosed is Copy of my former since which I have heard nothing from thee. Thy Note has been due a good while butt I am ready to Conclude thou must have remitted tho' not Come to My hands if there fore hast not remitted I should be Glad of an Answer P[er] Capt Walker & if further Orders, should be quite ready to Serve thee—

I request thee to be particular in thy answer thereto—

Pray give me a particular Acct what Situation my Brother Richr is in it will be quite acceptable—

I am with real respect
Thy real & assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Still Ridgely sent no payment, and when a year had elapsed after the original due date, Wagstaffe wrote more forcefully about his disappointment and the inconvenience. He also directed Capt. Ridgely to deduct £5 and give it to Richard Wagstaffe:[4]

London 4th Decmb 1764

Cha: Ridgely

Esteemd Frd

Thine p[er] Capt Frost I duly recvd & was indeed much disappointed as I did not doubt butt he would have brot the Money for thy Note it putts me to Inconvenience & Especially as I sold the goods only for 7 mos & thy Note has now been due one Year the 28th last Month—

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[4] A note from Richard Wagstaffe to Capt. Ridgely, dated March 25, 1765, says: "Capt: Burden Chase has waited on me three times & says [he] will wait on me about Sun Sett for he Sails in the Morning by Break of Day I know thy goodness need say no more than 5£ will serve me who am with respect Richd Wagstaffe."

I should be glad thou would send it as soon as possable its not that I have any doubt of my Frd Cha: Ridgely in that respect if it was much more I Should be Satisfied butt the dissappointment of the Money which is very Inconvenient to me—

I should be glad if thou Could send it Either p New York Packett or by some Vessell from Philada thou wilt indeed Serve me in it—

Please to pay my Brother Richd £5 Sterlg being a present from my Mother to him in his present distress & deduct it out of it

I am Extreamly ready to Serve thee in any thing in my power & am with real Respect

Thy Assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Another year passed and apparently Ridgely did write on the subject of his debt. He proposed to pay interest, but Wagstaffe, in his reply, commented that interest would not make up for the inability to use the actual money:

mo
London the 8th 11 Novr 1765

My old Frd
Charles Ridgely

I recvd thine p Capt Frost yesterday & observed the Contents I cannot forbear replying to thee in doing which shall Chiefly remind thee of our contract, when thou gave me the orders for the goods thou told me respecting the Purchase & also order'd me to Charge at a Profitt Equal to the time thou took which was 7 Mos & gave me a Note payable at Seven Months which became due the 28th Novr 1763 2 years since I rather Chose thou knows thy own Security than to Carry a Bill to James Russell from whom I might long since have recvd the Money—the year the bill came due thou could not remitt having been at home butt about 2 Mos & had not Collected the Money from the Person the goods were for, last year thou proposd to pay me Interest & to send the Money this year with an addition for further goods butt now thou seems angry at my letter requesting it I appeal to thee as a Judge respecting Money Affairs if its not Circulated Interest is no Equivalent in trade—I will not say much I am Disposed to preserve thy Friendship & Esteem. thou has mine & its not a fear of my Frd Cha: Ridgely that I Solicit the remittance butt because having been disappointed of that & some onther sums I have been Obliged to borrow to preserve my own Creditt here as I am even Obliged to pay for goods before they are out of my hands very frequently—

The State of your trade & of the Provinces in general plead an Excuse butt I Should be Glad thou would send some Iron I have the opportunity of Selling it to advantage by some Connection with a Consumer & if its fine I believe the advantage would be Considerable

This letter comes not in a Discontented Humor butt with a View to

Conciliate Matters between us to Increase our Friendship & to make our Intercourse mutually Beneficiall—

I am with due respect
Thy Assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

I beg thou will
give me an answer

Only a week after this letter, Wagstaffe filled a new order from Ridgely, but this time the transaction was conducted through the firm of Russell & Molleson, Ridgely's London agents, who, presumably added the £8.6.10 for castors, cruets, salts, shovels, and glasses to their own account with the Maryland merchant.

The next letter directly to Capt. Ridgely came early in 1776, and Wagstaffe, after recalling the long time since the note fell due, again urged payment in iron:

London the 25th Feb 1766

Esteem'd Frd
Cha: Ridgly

On the Arrival of Capt Frost I wrote thee p Packett a Copy of which is Inclosed I refer thee to him for a Testimony I bear thee a real & unfeign'd respect. Butt should be much Obliged to thee remember the Length of time Thy Note has been over due being dated 25th April 1763 & become due on the 28th Novr 1763 being for 7 mos Thy proposal to pay Interest I regarded as the Effect of thy Disposition to do Justice butt my wants Oblige me to request the principal I have recd Iron from Philada & I dare say thou knows its a good remittance do Oblige me with a Cargo of it & thou will much Serve

Thy respectfull & real Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Wagstaffe's patience was now wearing thin, and when Ridgely protested the price of the castors on the latest order, threatening that if there was no abatement, he would give the silversmith no further orders, Wagstaffe remarked—very mildly, under the circumstances—" that might have been spared till thy Note in my hands is paid now near *THREE YEARS* over due." He said that he would have to send the note to America for forcible collection:

London the 11th Sept 1766

Frd Cha: Ridgely

Being sent for p J Russell to be acquainted with thy orders Vizt " to acquaint me I had charged the Sett of Castors 37/6 that thou had seen a Sett a 19/ & if I did not Make an Abatement to give me no more orders of thine &c "

In the 1st place for my own Justification I will tell thee truly they Cost 29/6 are the same sort thou had thy self for 1.11.6 without the 2 additional Castors Judge thy self is its unreasonable to Charge as above I must & did pay before they were delivered & then must give 12 Mos at least—

As to giving me no more orders that might have been spared till thy Note in my hands is paid now near *THREE YEARS* over due—

I tell thee truly I did not Expect it from Capt Charles Ridgely I thought he had more honor than to act in this Manner however I shall send thy Note over with thy Letter offering me Interest if I do not receive a remittance for it p Capt Frost & Expect thy punctual payment of it this is James Russells Advice & if I was to Give way to resentment might Carry further, butt I am Obliged to thee for such favours & recommendations I have received I think this acknowledgement thy due £64.18.6 beside what Interest is further due after deducting for money pd my Br Rich[d]: is my due & when paid as I am to have no more Orders I wish thee Health & Prosperity & am

Thy Assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

In March, 1767, Wagstaffe wrote to say that he was postponing sending the note for collection because he did not want to prejudice Capt. Ridgely:

My old Frd — London the 14th March 1767

Above is Copy of mine p Packett since which I have recd none from thee altho time would have admitted it—

In point of respect to thee I have not sent thy Note over butt reserve it rather than Expose it to thy Prejudice for the present that thou may remitt the Principle & Interest now 3 years & half since it was due—

I have Considered it may prejudice thee & therefore if not sent please to pay the Whole to Capt Frost & his receipt shall [be] thy discharge or remitt me a Parcell of Iron—

Consider with thy self that both Justice & honour call for it & I cannot butt Entertain a belief thou art Sencible I have waited to my great Prejudice

I am with real respect tho' cannot butt Complain

Thy assured Frd
Thos Wagstaffe

Principal	64.18.6
Interest for 3½ years	11. 7.6
	76. 6.0
deduct for Richd Wagstaffe pd him..	7. 2
due to me	64. 9.0

November rolled around and still Wagstaffe was out his money, yet once more he wrote. "I cannot think my self well used to take away thy Bussiness & withold the Money for thy note," he said. He stated that he would wait four more months—time enough for the packet to make a round trip—and then send the note:

London the 7t Nov. 1766

Old Frd
Cha: Ridgely

Thine p Capt Frost I recvd a few days ago & to my great disappointment recvd no remittance for thy Note *now three Years over due* thy paying me Interest is no Equivalent for the use of the Money—I wrote to thee I should send thy note over and John Hammond Dorsey was the Person named to me as a Proper Man to be sent to, Butt hearing a respect I thought I would write once more & to request thou will by Way of Philada or Packett remitt Immediately

I cannot think my self well used to take thy Bussiness & withhold the Money for thy note, I know thou Neglected some others & I have heard thy Letter was Exposed on the Exchange, Butt I have kept my Complaint butt tell thee my Mind that my Frd Cha: Ridgely hurts his Creditt in this City—

I bear thee a real respect butt cannot avoid this Plain dealing, Capt Cha: Ridgely had not used to do so & as thou has ordered thy business elsewhere I have certainly a right to ask for my due—

I shall wait 4 Mos from this time before I send the note over as in that time the Packett goes & Comes & rest my self with a hope thou has more regard for thy Creditt Reputation & Honour than to delay a Remittance after this comes to hand—

I am with real respect to my Frd Charles Ridgely Butt thy Injured yett Real Frd

Thos Wagstaffe

The next month Wagstaffe advised Ridgely that, provisions being scarce in London, he had ordered from Joshua Fisher & Sons, of Philadelphia, a cargo of wheat and flour, and had sent the note —now four years over due—as payment:

London the 12 Dec 1767

Cha: Ridgely Junr
Esteemd Frd

I Expected thy remittance for the Note now upwards of 4 Years over due by the Tobacco Ships butt thou has faild me Butt Provisions being scarce here & an Importation of Wheat & flower allow'd I have sent to Joshua Fisher & Sons of Philadelphia for a Cargo of it & have remitted them thy Note of hand Value £64.18.6 & 3 years & 8 mos Interest due thereon amounting to £11.18.0 which after deducting £7.2.0 paid my Br

Richd Wagstaffe makes a Ballance of £69.14.6 & which they are to lay out in flower immediatly

I request thou will pay them that I may not be disappointed of the goods ordered by the very first opportunity—I charge thee butt 3 year 8 mos Interest tho' thy note has been due now upwards 4 years & the goods was chiefly plate an article as will bear no Creditt & Interest for the Money is not an Equivalent they have also with the Note thy letter proposing Interest—

I am very sorry to be obliged to take this Measure I had a belief my Frd Cha: Ridgely had more regard to his reputation & Carracter than [to] have delay'd a payment so long I wish to preserve a Friendship with thee & shall be very glad to see all Obstructions removed

I am respectfully Thy assured Frd

Thos Wagstaffe

The scene shifted across the Atlantic, and apparently Capt. Ridgely replied to the Fishers' request for the payment of the note by raising a point as to the rate of exchange—which sounds like so much quibbling:

Philada. April 13th 1768

Respected Friend

We Rece'd thy Letter of the 22d Ulto. & are oblig'd for thy intention of paying T. Wagstaffe's Ballce:—& in answer to thy request the general practice in Receiving Sterling Monies here is at the rate of Exchange at the time of payment & at wch. we shall receive this—for thy Governmt. Exche. is now 66 to 67½

We are with Respect Thy Assur'd Friends

Joshua Fisher & Sons

Eleven months later, the matter was still unsettled, and the Fishers notified Ridgely that the note was being sent to the Baltimore firm of William Lux & Bowly for immediate collection:

Philada. 3d Mo: 2d 1769—

Respected Friend

Agreeable to thy Request we now send thy Note, to Wm. Lux & Bowley, who we have Requested to settle with thee, & Receive the amount which we doubt not will be readily adjusted

We observe the Bill thee mentions to be ready is for the Ballc. due 12th Mo. (Decr.) 28th 1767, the Interest accrued thereon since we expect thee will likewise settle at the same time

Thou mentions in thy Letter, thy paying a large Sum for postage, in which we are rather apprehensive thou must be mistaken, however as

the Money has been long due, thou cannot Censure us nor our Frd. Wagstaffe, as being the occasion of it—

We are with Respect

Thy Assur'd Friends
Joshua Fisher & Sons

Wagstaffe's final letter, dated March 22,1769—within a month of six years after the original transaction—is a masterpiece of restraint. The conclusion is almost touching in its appeal: " Prithy old acquaintance do pay it immediately I really am in want of it." Surely this exemplifies in the highest degree the Quaker quality of patience:

London 22d March 1769

My old Frd
Cha: Ridgely

By the last Letters from Philada from J Fisher & Sons I am informd thou had not pd thy note—The Length of time since thou gave that note being almost 6 years & a Man of thy Property to neglect the Payment is unaccountable the Loss it is to Me in the Money being locked up the Injury it is to thy reputation both as a Man & a Merchant I think would Induce thee to gett rid of such a Burthen Prithy old acquaintance do pay it immediately I realy am in want of it & I shall think my self obliged by it

I am respectfully

Thy Assur'd Frd

Thos Wagstaffe

Before this appeal could have got out of sight of England the entire business was concluded. The note, having been sent to Joshua Fisher & Sons, of Philadelphia, was in turn endorsed by them to William Lux & Bowly, of Baltimore; and the final word is seen in the notation on the back: " Received 25 March 1769 The within Note with interest, being £0.69.14.6. [*sic*] for the use and by order of Joshua Fisher & Sons. Wm. Lux & Bowly."

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Cecil County, Maryland: a Study in Local History. By ALICE ETTA MILLER. Elkton, Maryland: C. & L. Printing & Specialty Co., 1949. 173 pp. $3.50.

A new county history is sure to arouse the interest of those concerned with the study of Maryland's past. The long-awaited publication of the late Miss Miller's work on Cecil County inevitably attracts attention, both within the county itself and in wider fields, especially since the only other Cecil County history, that by George Johnston published in 1881, is less interesting to the modern reader than one would wish. The foreword of this new work states that it was never intended to be an exhaustive history and the subtitle emphasizes this fact. It is not a formal history of the county, but it does contain much of the history of its various towns and regions. As supervisor of the elementary schools in Cecil County, the author felt the need of information on their own history for use in the schools and she has gathered together here material that might be so used. After some background of the early years of the county, she devotes attention to its several parts. Much of this regional material is in the nature of a guide-book to places of interest there: old houses, churches, schools, and inns. In the course of it, outstanding citizens are portrayed. It is gratifying to find early industrial activities, such as lumber transportation on the Susquehanna and fishing, recounted in some detail.

There is evidence here and there of some original research, but one would hardly expect to find much of this in a work of the kind this is intended to be. References to secondary sources are naturally frequent. In one of these, James Truslow Adams' *Provincial Society*, which is listed several times in the chapter on manners and customs, the material referred to is concerned with the early colonies in general or, perhaps in several instances, the Southern colonies as a whole, but it is likely that the absence of details on these aspects of the social history of Cecil County itself accounts for the application of these general descriptions.

Although the book was nearly finished at the time of the author's death in 1947, her sisters had the difficult task of completing the work of another, checking references, getting additional illustrations, and seeing the book through the press. It would be almost impossible to avoid all errors in such a case and a few occur in the footnotes. The book concludes with a brief bibliography and an index of proper names.

ELIZABETH C. LITSINGER.

Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

The Natural Bent. By PAUL B. BARRINGER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. viii, 280 pp. $3.50.

One who as a small boy bestrode Little Sorrel by permission of his aunt, owner of that famous warhorse because she was the widow of Stonewall Jackson; and who frequently visited the home of another aunt, whose husband's name was D. H. Hill, is certainly one whose roots strike deep into the history of the South. Add then that this small boy, growing up, became and for many years remained the most powerful force in the first modern medical school in Virginia, and it is needless to point out that his life was of the very stuff of Southern history.

The autobiography of Dr. Paul Barringer is thus a document of no small historical importance by reason of its matter; but its manner adds delight to importance. Dr. Barringer did not write this book for publication and he had been dead nearly ten years before it appeared; he set down his recollections for the information of his grandchildren. What he regarded as his important work is comprised in the scientific papers he contributed to learned journals as one of the leaders of his profession; this is merely what he thought the younger generation of Barringers ought to know about him and his times.

But the result is a luminous picture of the Old South seen through the eyes of one who richly merited the old-fashioned title of a gentleman and a scholar. For the mere succession of events one should consult the professional historians; Dr. Barringer pays small attention to chronology, jumping back and forth through the years to narrate what came to his mind in the order, not that it happened, but that it occurred to him; and he pays no attention at all to the great political and economic controversies of the period.

But as a picture of how Southerners of breeding and intelligence lived and thought and acted in the half-century following the Civil war it is superb. They were hard days, harder that the present generation can imagine, and life had an enforced simplicity due to financial poverty. But this book demonstrates that for all the lack of material things, that life held light and healing; so call it poverty-stricken is to apply a stupidly narrow definition to the term.

This is certainly as well worth knowing as how General Hoke manoeuvred at Cold Harbor, and which Governor succeeded which in the State of Virginia. Some indeed, think it better worth knowing, and to them "The Natural Bent" is not merely history, but history of a superior kind.

GERALD W. JOHNSON.

Pillars of Maryland. By FRANCIS SIMS MCGRATH. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1950. xx, 580 pp. $5.00.

The author begins his work by picturing the political background and conditions in England and on the Continent which led to the settlement and development of our land. From this he proceeds to a vivid portrayal of the lives and manners of a particular group of personages who resided in Colonial Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, and who, for the most part, were connected by ties of blood or intermarriage with one another. They were mostly representative of the highest class of citizen, by right of birth, breeding and intellectual qualifications. However, the author is free from prejudice, not only portraying cases where good breeding develops better people, but also showing an area in which good families intermarried and went to seed.

This volume is not intended to serve as a genealogical reference work; but a chart or two of some of the interrelated families would, perhaps, have been helpful in guiding the reader through the labyrinth of names, just as a blackboard demonstration assists in elucidating a lecture.

It was not the author's purpose to document his statements from original sources but, rather, to depend upon an extensive bibliography which, as he himself confesses, proved at times to be confusing and contradictory. If memory serves me, I believe it was the famous philosopher, Lord Bacon (Baron Verulam) who said: "Read not to cavil, nor yet to take for granted." It is a wise precept which should be followed not only by critical reviewers but also by the general reader.

Of course, there are errors in this book, such as when (p. 68) the author assures us "there was never a '*bar sinister*' in my family." There was never a "bar sinister" in any family, for the reason there is no such thing as "bar sinister" in heraldic terminalogy. If any squeamish expert of the English Heralds' College should see this debasement of the perfectly respectable and time-honored *bar* to the level of the *baton sinister*, he would probably experience a revulsion of feeling that might bring on an attack of—the Greeks had a word for it—*oxyrhegmia*, which is a dreadful thing.

The author tells us (p. 94) that Governor Leonard Calvert married a sister of Margaret Brent. This, at best, is only an inference. Whosoever was Leonard Calvert's wife and wheresoever Leonard was buried are two mysteries, the key to which was doubtless buried with Mistress Margaret Brent in her final resting-place in Virginia.

Again, the author repeats the romantic story (p. 316) that "Belair," the final home of Governor Samuel Ogle, near the present Bowie Station in Prince George's County, Md., was built by Benjamin Tasker, Sr., as a wedding gift for his young daughter, Anne, who became the bride of the Governor, a man who was twenty-nine years older than his bride, and only four years younger than his father-in-law. There is *documentary* evidence, in the files of the old Chancery Court at Annapolis, showing that Ogle became sole owner of "Belair" a few months prior to his mar-

riage to Anne Tasker, took his bride on a wedding trip to England and from there forwarded to his father-in-law written instructions about having a mansion built for him (Ogle) on the latter's property, the same to be completed and ready for occupancy by himself and wife against their contemplated return to Maryland in March, 1747. (See Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days*," pp. 36-40).

Your reviewer feels that while straining out these "gnats," he may have swallowed a "camel" or two while engrossed by the author's fascinating narrative. When all has been said, Mr. McGrath's work presents a lively and charming picture of a segment of Colonial Maryland life and culture in the golden period of her provincial existence. The book is very instructive and merits a high place among the sidelights on Maryland history. Its value is enhanced by splendid illustrations and reproductions of portraits and miniatures by famous artists; it contains seventeen pages of bibliography, a general index and a separate index of proper names.

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist. By ANNA JANNEY DEARMOND. Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1949. vii, 272 pp.

Like other printers of the colonial period, Andrew Bradford kept a store and a post office and dealt in real estate, but he was primarily a printer, and is remembered as the major printer in Philadelphia before the era of Benjamin Franklin. In 1719 he established the *American Weekly Mercury*, the first newspaper published south of Boston, and in 1741 the *American Magazine*, a short-lived periodical, but withal the first magazine in America.

After gathering all the available information about the life of Andrew Bradford, Miss DeArmond devotes the major portion of her work to a thorough and detailed scrutiny of the contents of the *American Weekly Mercury*. In successive chapters she discusses the history of the newspaper, its treatment of foreign and colonial affairs, politics, social life, editorials and features, literature; and finally the popularity and influence of the *Mercury*. The book concludes with an analysis of the *American Magazine*.

For the first time a colonial journal, its advertisements as well as text, has been subjected to searching examination. And since the *Mercury's* influence extended beyond Philadelphia, the reader will find reflected in its pages a panorama of life in the Middle Colonies between 1719 and 1746. The mass of detail does not make for easy reading, but serious students will be rewarded by an increased knowledge of the thought processes and practical activities of an early society. The usefulness of this book is enhanced by complete, accurate documentation and an excellent index.

ROLLO G. SILVER.

Peabody Institute Library.

Backwoods Utopias. The Sectarium and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1633-1829. By ARTHUR EUGENE BESTOR, JR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. 288 pp. $3.50.

Dr. Bestor's study of the socialistic communities sponsored by religious and Owenite groups from the decade just before the Revolution to the Jacksonian era combines such a high standard of scholarship with such excellent exposition that the reader wishes it were longer. Historians have tended to dismiss these experiments (and it is important to remember that the sponsors looked upon them as experiments also) as products of idealists while centering attention upon "practical" reforms. They have done so partly because of the general impression that such experiments failed; partly from their certainty that today's social and economic problems cannot be solved by such methods. Dr. Bestor shows that while the movement failed to gather the momentum its faithful anticipated, many communities, albeit those with a sectarian base, were distinct successes, and indeed it was their very success which encouraged secular reformers. Dr. Bestor's study also tends to correct a more dangerous historical attitude. He tells the reader he is going to view these utopias through the eyes of contemporaries who regarded them as serious and reasonable attempts at reform. Such an approach could be profitably adopted by those historians who, feeling compelled to discover a stream of development from the past to the present, have been led into dubious similarities and comparisons.

Dr. Bestor prefers the word "communitarian" to the usual "communistic" to describe this type of socialism, "a system of social reform based on small communities," and the word has the virtue of accuracy if not beauty. He proceeds to trace the origins of sectarian communitarianism from Europe to the United States where the Shakers, the Rappites, and the Moravians developed their equalitarian ideas "to fullest flower." It is here particularly that the reader would appreciate longer treatment. Although the book's subtitle leads one to expect at least an equally detailed discussion of the sectarian aspects of the movement with that of the Owenite phase, only one of eight chapters is devoted to these groups where success was most marked. If anything had to be sacrificed to space the account of European observers' comments on communitarian experiments might have been, particularly since many were made after 1829 when the study is supposed to end. Most of the book is devoted to Owen's experiment at New Harmony. Particularly satisfactory is the appraisal of Owen's personality—sincere even as a publicist and dogmatist—but failing in the practical matters of economic reality and democratic government. While his son was struggling with these matters, Owen was away making more friends for New Harmony. He made many—one is tempted to say too many. It was imperative that the community contain a balance of trades so that it could become self-sustaining; instead, persons were allowed to enter indiscriminately.

The fine study which Dr. Bestor has produced should lead us to anticipate an equally important contribution in the volume on the forties and fifties which he has projected.

BLANCHE D. COLL.

Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2nd edition. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1949.

Although described on its title page as a second edition, this handbook to one of the great historical collections of America is in large part a new compilation, superseding and replacing the *Guide* prepared ten years ago by the Historical Records Survey. The new *Guide*, published on the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society's founding, contains 1,611 numbered entries covering 4,000,000 manuscripts, as compared with 1940's 1,141 collections of 2,500,000 items. Early in the volume, collections are described in alphabetical order; thereafter the order appears to be that of acquisition. Except for 200,000 items pertaining to foreign countries, the manuscripts are largely of Pennsylvania interest, many of the collections being, as Richard N. Williams' introduction points out, important sources for national history.

Indexing is greatly improved. Under numerous headings, such as Diaries, Travels, and Letter Books, there is a helpful chronological breakdown by decades. Under other headings, the reader is guided through a wilderness of references by the use of bold face numerals for the major collections. Index references are to the number of the individual collection, and this reviewer has not attempted to count the unnumbered pages of text and index. Such inevitable words as " miscellaneous " appear to have been used too often in descriptions where other expressions might have been employed to introduce more subject references for indexing. In such matters, however, the first stone should be cast by those who have done better with similar masses of material. Admirably free of unnecessary scholarly paraphernalia, such as excessive use of square brackets, the volume is typographically clear and readable. Other compilations have attained greater economy in printing without loss of clarity.

FRANCIS L. BERKELEY, JR.

University of Virginia Library.

Early Connecticut Meetinghouses. By J. FREDERICK KELLY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. 2 vols. $40.00.

This two-volume compendium about the early religious architecture of Connecticut was written by the authority on the architecture of that state. Its purpose was " to make as complete a record as possible of every existing edifice in Connecticut before 1830 which has architectural interest and to

present in readily available form all that is known or can be learned regarding the earlier, now-vanished structures that preceded them."

In the early days of this section of New England the churches were called " meetinghouses," whereas " church " meant the local assembly of worshippers. The meetinghouses were used for both religious and civil matters pertaining to the colony. At first, some meetings armed themselves against the Indians. Also you could not cut a church service, because attendance was required by law. People were seated in the meetinghouse according to " age; dignity of descent; place of public trust; pious disposition; estate; peculiar serviceableness of any kind." This system of priority was called " dignifying the seats." Men and women were usually separated, and the tithing-man took care of the children.

In appearance the Connecticut meetinghouses never had " an intimate and moving charm; austerity and reserve ever indicate their Puritan origin." At any rate, the earliest type of structure, according to Kelly, was probably of log and possessed a thatch roof. The second type is represented by the timber-framed, square, edifice with pyramid roof. It is unfortunate that examples of these first two classes have " all vanished generations ago without description or adequate record." The third kind, flourishing " well into the 18th century," was of the Sir Christopher Wren type, with tower and steeple on the front, and with main entrance on the long side. But the fourth type, called Post Colonial in style, marked the climax of church development in Connecticut. Examples were marked usually by a tower on the roof and a columned portico or entrance bay on the front, in the approved James Gibbs' manner. Palladian windows—at that time called " Venetian windows "—appeared; and orange, blue, and other gay paints were employed on the walls. Kelly believed that the fourth type of meetinghouse was largely due to Bulfinch's church of 1789 at Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In Connecticut there were at least two noted designers of the Gibbsonian church: David Hoadley and Ithiel Town.

Most of Kelly's handsome well-illustrated study comprises a descriptive catalogue of examples ranging from " Abington " to " Woodstock." Each meetinghouse is presented usually in the following manner: history, technical remarks, exterior and interior photographs, photographic details such as pulpit or main doorway, measured floor plan, and roof truss drawing. Occasionally the photographs of churches are varied by others, such as an " Old Diagram of Seating Arrangement," or " Decon Hart's Barn." At one meetinghouse it was fortunate that Kelly made permanent records, because the structure was already on its last legs and the sash were literally hanging out the windows.

This book marks the *opus magnum* of the author's life studies. It is to be regretted that there is one important error, that of describing the earliest meetinghouses of Connecticut as constructions of horizontal logs. According to Kelly, " the tradition of log construction is persistent in Connecticut, appearing in all parts of the state and often vouched for by descendants of the original settlers. Furthermore, some historical writers of position and authority have upheld it, and actually in three towns the

records specifically mention this form of construction in votes to build meetinghouses." The author illustrates the first meetinghouse at Middletown and the first meetinghouse (1635) in Connecticut at Hartford as log structures. Yet the source of the first is a book published in 1853 and of the second a book printed in 1837. The latter, Barber's *Connecticut Historical Collection*, is even quoted to reveal to us that the drawing of the log meetinghouse at Hartford "was obtained from a gentleman now deceased." (!)

When the town records of Connecticut specify log construction, the records are late. For instance, the Washington First Congregational Church of 1742 "might have been built of logs," according to Kelly, because Turner's *Church of Judea*, published in 1892, "had all his information 'from the earliest records.'"

At any rate there were no log churches or log houses built in Connecticut in the first half of the seventeenth century. In colony after colony from Maine to Carolina Harold R. Shurtleff has disproved the *log cabin myth* in his book of that title published in 1939 by the Harvard University Press. For all its falling into the log cabin "trap," Kelly's is a praiseworthy work and a remarkable accomplishment for one individual. Maryland, or any other state, would be fortunate to have its churches treated and recorded in as complete and authoritative a manner.

HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN.

Agnes Scott College.

The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. By HENRY J. BROWNE, Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1949. xxxviii, 415 pp. $5.00.

Father Browne has written an important study of the late nineteenth century relations between the Catholic Church and Labor in the United States. It will be most welcome to those who desire to probe for an understanding of the broad factors in history which underlie the association of the clergy with labor in their combined efforts to find a solution to the social question. Of particular interest to Marylanders is the author's account of Cardinal Gibbons' attitude towards the labor movement. For it was he who prevented higher authority in Rome from condemning the Knights of Labor in the United States, although a precedent had been set for such action by a decree forwarded in August 1884 to the Archbishop of Quebec from the Congregation of the Holy Office (Inquisition) allowing the latter to place the Knights under the ban in Canada. That the Baltimore Cardinal could not quietly abide the consequences of such a decision in the United States goes almost without saying. To have condemned the Knights of Labor would have alienated the Catholic worker from the Church and drive him headlong into the waiting arms of the Socialists. It is to Gibbons' credit that, in obtaining a reconsideration of Labor's

cause in Rome in 1887, he served the interests of the State to no less extent than he served the interests of the Church. Indeed in no better way could the Cardinal exemplify his unique function as a tempering balance wheel between a " foreign Church " and an America in which Catholicism was frankly suspect.

If, however, neither His Eminence nor the bulk of the Catholic Hierarchy appreciated the full import of the problem with which they were wrestling, or, if they failed to seize the extraordinary opportunity thus fortuitously thrust on them at that moment, they cannot be blamed otherwise except that they were lacking in political foresight. Father Browne wisely refrains from taking the Bishops to task. On the other hand, he does not excuse nor does he minimize their culpable shortcomings no more than he tries to find evidence of social prescience, among Catholics generally, where none in fact exists. No doubt, when Dr. John Tracy Ellis publishes his forthcoming life of Cardinal Gibbons, he will advance the full picture of the interplay of material and spiritual forces which marked Labor's success in preventing the Catholic Church from thwarting their attempted rise to power in the noontide of Populism in the United States.

Nevertheless, that is not to take away from Father Browne's accomplishment, which is most noteworthy. For whether the reader be Catholic or non-Catholic, he will be grateful that the author of this study has been fit to gather together and correlate so many and so diverse views on such significant labor questions; that he has presented so sober and sympathetic an appreciation of a great American Labor leader, Terence V. Powderly; and that he has appended to the work so admirable an essay on sources for the enlightened guidance of both casual reader and conscientious scholar.

HARRY W. KIRWIN.

Loyola College.

Alexander Pope's Prestige in America, 1725-1835. By AGNES MARIE SIBLEY. King's Crown Press. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. 158 pp. $2.50 (paper).

This volume, a Columbia University dissertation, is a comprehensive survey-study of the fact and significance of Pope's great vogue in America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Miss Sibley has very wisely " taken only a sampling " from what she believes to be " representative newspapers and periodicals in various parts of the country." She has verified for the permanent record certain already well-known assumptions about Pope's popularity as a literary artist, both in mastery of technical craftsmanship and depth of inspiration, as moral and ethical guide, and as a text in persuasive rhetoric. She quotes with discrimination actual criticism of his works in this country, and utilizing a great number of available documents—newspapers, periodicals, booksellers' lists, library catalogues, and poetical miscellanies—she indicates convincingly the great extent to

which his poetry was read and his ideas circulated in every colony-state. Since the work does not attempt to treat purely aesthetic considerations of Pope's influence on early American poetry, one wishes that Miss Sibley had relegated to appendices even more of her factual data and had treated at length a subject she writes about competently, Pope's effect on what we have come to call the " American mind." This is a careful study, well-organized, fully documented and indexed.

PHILIP MAHONE GRIFFITH.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Map Makers & Indian Traders. An Account of John Paten Trader, Arctic Explorer, and Map Maker; Charles Swaine Author, Trader, Public Official, and Arctic Explorer; Theodorus Swaine Drage Clerk, Trader, and Anglican Priest. By HOWARD N. EAVENSON. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949. $10.00.

The positive identification of an anonymous old map is only slightly less difficult than the identification of a manuscript containing nothing but words. This is especially true of maps made during the 18th century, when handwriting as well as map drafting were frequently stylized. And whereas a manuscript may be identified and even dated by the statements and ideas it contains, there is often a sad dearth of internal evidence to identify the maker of a map or the year in which it was drawn. There is also the possibility that a map is a tracing or fair copy of an original made some years earlier by another hand.

Mr. Eavenson spent fifteen years in search of documents which would positively identify an anonymous manuscript map in the Library of Congress known only as " The Trader's Map," perhaps the earliest to locate and identify the presence of bituminous coal " Sea Coal " in the region depicted. The map is bounded on the north by the 44th parallel, on the south by the 38th parallel, on the west by the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash River, and on the east by the town of Juniata. An interesting colonial document, this map has been identified by Mr. Eavenson, " as certainly as it can be shown without finding a signed copy," as the work of John Patten, a trader and sometime arctic explorer who made a voyage along the coast of Labrador on the " Argo," Captain Charles Swaine.

The size and contents of this study attests the years of patient and painstaking research that went into it; and the fact that Mr. Eavenson failed to locate a signed copy of the map does not detract from the value or quality of his labors. His evidence is circumstantial, he states, but no pains were spared to remove all elements of doubt as to the author of the map or the date, which he establishes as 1752. In support of his claim, Mr. Eavenson presents an abundance of primary source material, including notes on Captain Swaine and Theodorus Swaine Drage, " Clerk, trader and Anglican priest," and on the background and colorful life of John Patten

himself. He also presents in evidence thirty-four "Appendices" in the form of letters, depositions, excerpts from account books and notes on other Patten maps.

This monograph, produced in a very attractive format by the University of Pittsburgh Press, is well printed and bound. The bibliography and index add greatly to its value as a research tool, and the full-scale collotype reproduction of "The Trader's Map" folded and bound in, will enable anyone who so desires to continue the search where Mr. Eavenson decided to call a halt.

LLOYD A. BROWN.

Peabody Institute Library.

A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800; with a Bibliography of Works Printed in the State during the Period. By A. RACHEL MINNICK. Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1949. Mimeographed. 603 pp. $3.50.

A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800 completes the list of Maryland imprints from 1685 to 1800 which was begun by Lawrence C. Wroth in his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* and continued by Joseph T. Wheeler in his *Maryland Imprints, 1777-1790.* Maryland is indeed fortunate in having so complete a record of its early printing, for in these originals the historian and bibliographer finds the true picture of the state and its people, and its importance in the founding and building of America. This work, covering the last decade of the 18th Century, reflects the changes caused by the rapid expansion of the new nation. The number of newspapers and magazines alone, published in these years, shows the demand for news by the swiftly increasing population both in the established centers of the East and the newer settlements in the Western parts of the state, and the demands of the new commercial and industrial activity of Baltimore. It was an era of relative national peace and prosperity and the result is clearly demonstrated by the printing of the time.

Miss Minnick's work contains a text of 220 pages, in which she presents "a picture of Maryland's printing activities . . . through the lives of the men who operated the presses." She gives a succinct account of each of the forty-five printers in the state, thirty-two of whom worked in Baltimore, and of their important works in the field of printing. Though classified by the type of work they did, the text is more a chronological account of the lives of these men and women, than an historical narrative of the time. Dr. Wroth said, in the conclusion to his *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, page 146, speaking of the work still to be done in the field: "After them [the Goddards] and indeed in later years, came so many printers, such a flood of pamphlets, books and newspapers that the problem of keeping clear the record becomes one to be solved by catalogue making rather than by historical narrative." And in comparing this work with Dr. Wroth's and Dr. Wheeler's volumes one can see the enormous task confronting Miss Minnick and can realize how well she has

handled and presented the material. Dr. Wroth, for a period of about 90 years (1685-1776) found 21 printers and 393 items; Dr. Wheeler, for 13 years, lists 18 printers and 550 items; Miss Minnick, for 10 years, has 45 printers and 637 items. The 281-page "Imprint Bibliography" includes books, pamphlets, broadsides, music and newspapers. It is arranged chronologically, each entry containing a transcript of the title-page, collation and bibliographical notes, location of known copies and sources of information, and Evans reference numbers. The "Appendices" consisting of graphs and full "Bibliography of Works Consulted" are a valuable addition for the scholar wishing to pursue studies in this field. The index is full and complete and makes easy use of the volume.

It seems unfortunate that such an important work could not have been issued in printed and lasting form. The very size alone, necessitated by mimeographing, makes it unwieldy and difficult to use. The lack of contrast in size of type and spacing, possible with printed type, makes it monotonous and confusing reading at times. Perhaps the difficulty of proof reading from mimeograph stencils can account for the errors discovered, rather than to careless work on the part of Miss Minnick. Out of nine originals in the John Work Garrett Library, checked against the entries, seven were found to contain errors in the transcription of the title-pages. Several errors also were noted in the footnotes in the text where reference is made to the items in the imprint Bibliography. These are serious faults and should be borne in mind by those using the bibliography for accurate comparison of issues and copies.

A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800 is a fine and useful work, and one that will be wanted by all libraries, bibliographers and book collectors of early Maryland material. With its publication Maryland can boast as complete a bibliography of its printing history as any state, and it makes available to all, these valuable sources of our history.

ELIZABETH BAER.

John Work Garrett Library.

Artists in the Life of Charleston: Through Colony and State From Restoration to Reconstruction. By ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 39, Part 2,) Philadelphia: The Society, 1949. Pp. [99]-260.

Everything from the pen of Anna Wells Rutledge relating to early American painting is worth while, and as might be expected her latest publication on artists in Charleston, her native city, has not only great local interest but is also a valuable contribution to the history of art in the United States in general. The story she tells embraces more than a century and a half, from the early settlement of that city to the close of the War Between the States. In covering thoroughly the art history of an important cultural centre like Charleston, the author has traced for us the activities not only of the local artists, but also of many well known visiting painters

of national prominence. We also encounter here the names of numbers of lesser artists, who, because of Charleston's early geographic isolation, are assumed to have confined their work to this neighborhood, but with these names now before us in a convenient form for reference, we will doubtless be able to trace certain of them to other centres where their significance has not been suspected.

All possible source material for this study has been thoroughly searched: newspaper files beginning with the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1732, old letters and diaries, wills and inventories, family traditions, and the evidence presented by the paintings themselves. There unfolds for us in these pages a procession of painters, both men and women, of portraits, miniatures, and landscapes, of silhouettists, wax miniaturists, teachers of art, engravers, art exhibitions, as well as the drawings by noted naturalist-artists of the fauna and flora of South Carolina.

Although one suspects that she may have had a predecessor, Henrietta Johnston, the wife of the Anglican rector of St. Phillip's, Charleston, with her attractive pastels, is to be considered as having laid the foundation stone of painting in Charleston in 1708, which she continued to build upon for twenty years. Jeremiah Theus, probably from the Continent, was the court limner of aristocratic South Carolina from 1740 until his death in 1774. John Wollaston, the English portrait painter who painted in nearly all the American cities about this time, spent some two years in Charleston in the mid-sixties. Henry Benbridge and his wife, best known for their miniatures, paid several visits to South Carolina in the seventies, eighties, and nineties of the eighteenth century. Mark Catesby in the twenties, and John Bartram in the sixties, did sketches and paintings in South Carolina of its fauna and flora, which were later to appear in sumptuous form in Catesby's *Natural History* and Bartram's *Travels*, both landmarks in the natural history of America.

During the Revolutionary period art and artists were relatively quiescent in the South as elsewhere in the colonies, but were to be revived in the nineties of the Federal period. James Earl from Massachusetts was a resident of Charleston from 1794 until his death there in 1796; in the winter of 1795-1796, the two brothers, Raphaelle Peale and Rembrandt Peale, sons of Charles Willson Peale, showed their "Collection of Portraits" in Charleston, where Raphaelle doubtless secured sufficient orders for his miniatures to induce him to return later, and Rembrandt, just embarking on his painting career, may have received orders for his then rather immature oils. In 1796 Charles Fraser, of the socially élite of Charleston, began his notable career as a miniaturist and landscapist, a career which was to continue for more than half a century. Washington Allston, another native South Carolinian of the same social group, who painted in an exaggerated romantic style, left in early life to follow a painting career in France, Italy, and New England, but returned to Charleston in his latter years. Edward Greene Malbone from Newport, the justly noted painter, made frequent visits and painted numerous beautiful miniatures in South Carolina between 1800 and 1812.

The seventeen nineties brought to the United States a number of French painters, either émigrés from France at the time of the Revolution or later from the French West Indies, especially from Santo Domingo, as a result of the 1793-1794 Negro insurrection there. These came to the various American seaport cities, especially Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, of which the last city got its full share. Many of these were itinerant miniature painters. Some, such as St. Memin, did notable work, but it is of interest that this French inundation made little permanent impression upon American painting, which continued to follow the English tradition. Among these French painters who were in Charleston, in addition to St. Memin, were the Boudets, father and son, the deMillieres, Henri, Yallee, de Clorivière (Picot), and others now remembered only by their French names.

American painters of national reputation who visited Charleston in the first half of the nineteenth century were Cephas Thompson of Connecticut, who first visited Charleston in 1804, returning again in 1818 and 1822; Samuel F. B. Morse in 1818; J. W. Jarvis in 1820; John Vanderlyn in 1822; Samuel Osgood in 1830. Visiting miniature painters at this time were Anson Dickinson, 1812; Louis Collas, 1816; and Benjamin Trott, 1819. Thomas Sully first appears in 1840 and again in 1842; and George L. Saunders, the English miniaturist in 1848. The Bogle brothers were painting in Charleston from 1840 to 1850, and occasionally even later. John James Audubon first appeared in 1830, and in 1834 exhibited his celebrated water color drawings of birds and flowers as the advance salesman of his *Birds of America.* A few years before Titian Peale, in 1824, had been making drawings at the Museum, doubtless to be used as illustrations for Charles Lucian Bonaparte's *American Ornithology,* which was published in 1828. Of local painters of this period, the miniaturists Henry B. Bounetheau and his wife Junia Clarkson Dupré are perhaps the best known.

Miss Rutledge lists nearly 400 artists as working in Charleston during the period she covers. These she groups in an appendix under portrait painters, miniature painters, pastelists, profilists, landscape painters, fancy painters, and scene painters, and also under drawing schools, restorers, sculptors and carvers. It is only possible here to refer to a few conspicuous painters. It is to be regretted that it was not possible to tell us more about the architects who were responsible for Charleston's noted buildings, although there is brief mention of Robert Mills, a native of South Carolina, perhaps the first really notable American-born architect.

It is gratifying to those interested in the early history of American painters and painting that a learned society such as the venerable American Philosophical Society, realizing the importance of art in the cultural tradition of the country, is now beginning to publish under its sponsorship, important studies on this subject. This contribution by Miss Rutledge is soon to be followed by a volume, under the same aegis, on the paintings of Charles Willson Peale, sometimes referred to as the Painter of the American Revolution, written by Peale's scholarly great-great-grandson, Charles Coleman Sellers.

J. Hall Pleasants.

James Madison: Father of the Constitution: 1787-1800. By IRVING BRANT. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1950. 520 pp. $6.00.

What's past is prologue. In this third volume of his projected four-volume—and, as it now appears, definitive—study of Madison, Mr. Brant comes to grips with the most important part of an important career, the period for which the first two volumes, and the first thirty-six years of life, carefully prepared. *James Madison: Father of the Constitution* covers only the years 1787-1800, and it is easy to see why Mr. Brant, who when he began to write intended this third volume to include the presidential years and be the last, had to extend his plan. It would take a stronger character than a rapt biographer to omit any of the material used here.

Some of the material is new. Throughout, the treatment of it most certainly is, so that we see into crevices of Madison's mind and political character never illuminated before. I, who have gone twice carefully straight through the Madison Papers in the Library of Congress have felt baffled on many points which Mr. Brant is now interpreting to my satisfaction. He has an increasingly apparent talent for political interpretation. This is added to the kind of scholarship we used to mean when the word was less loosely used, to a painstaking attention to detail, to a dominant idea the detail never obscures, and to a light touch that certainly does no harm.

The virtues of the detailed approach to biography appear in this volume more clearly than in the earlier ones. I remember tiring, for example, in Volume One while the author labored the exquisitely unimportant question of whether Madison's mother were named Nelly or Eleanor Conway. There being, almost literally, no unimportant questions which present themselves now, the exhaustive treatment is always constructive and welcome in Volume Three.

Its highlight is the beginning from which it takes its name, the Federal Convention in Philadelphia. Madison was the first delegate to get there, and the symbolism may not be overlooked. He was, indeed, the Father of the Constitution that convention made. Mr. Brant, who is at his best in day-by-day political analysis, excels himself in these chapters; and his untangling of Madison's relationships with the other great men of his time—Jefferson, Hamilton, Patrick Henry—increases our knowledge of them all. To review his book in the sense of recapitulating the material it covers would be an oversimplification which seems a shame, since oversimplification of Madison and his times and his politics is just what Mr. Brant is writing to rectify. To review it in the critical sense is more reasonable but hard. There is so little to say but praise; and those little things that any reviewer can ferret out in any book—tastes being notoriously different and reviewers notoriously mean—are better left unsaid. *James Madison: Father of the Constitution* is the high point of a work of the first rank, biography as more people ought to write it but as very few people can.

ELLEN HART SMITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE AND THE POE WESTMINSTER MEMORIAL

By Francis B. Dedmond

Before the Civil War, Paul Hamilton Hayne had established himself as an editor and as a poet. At the age of twenty-three, he became the first editor of *Russell's Magazine*, the literary outlet for the antebellum literati of Charleston, South Carolina. By 1860, Hayne had published three volumes of poems which were so successful that he was encouraged to make literature his vocation. Even "the established poets of the North, Bryant, Whittier, Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and others accepted him as one of the literary guild, and held out to him a hand of kindly welcome." [1]

During the bombardment of Charleston, in the early stages of the Civil War, Hayne's beautiful home and his large library were completely destroyed, and he moved to Copse Hill, near Augusta, Georgia, where he continued his literary labors. In 1872, his volume of poems, *Legends and Lyrics*, appeared, followed in 1875 by *The Mountain of the Lovers*. In addition to his writing, he carried on an extensive correspondence with the leading literary figures of both England and America. However, he never forgot the South and its literature. One of the compelling desires of Hayne's life after the Civil War was that Southern literature should once again flourish. But with the renaissance of literature in the South, eminent Southern men of letters of the past must not be forgotten.

One of the projects which lay nearest to the heart of Paul Hamilton Hayne was the erection of a suitable monument at "Poe's neglected grave;" [2] yet few people in his own day knew of his efforts; and were it not for the fact that Hayne carefully preserved his correspondence, his part in the securing of funds for the Poe Westminster Memorial may have been completely forgotten.

Hayne probably was not fully aware of the activities of the Poe Memorial Fund Committee, composed principally of citizens of Baltimore; conse-

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[1] Margaret J. Preston, "Paul Hamilton Hayne," *The Southern Bivouac*, N. S., II (1886-1887), 223.

[2] See the address of William Elliott, Jr., President of Baltimore City College, on the occasion of the dedication of the memorial, November 17, 1875, in William F. Gill, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1877), p. 276 ff. in which he points out that "'Poe's neglected grave' was the stereotyped expression of those modern Jeremiahs" who had written innumerable articles deploring the condition of Poe's grave. Hayne may have been one of those whom Elliott had in mind.

quently, he was not correct, it seems, in his claim, made in a letter to the poet Swinburne, that he had begun the first project to secure a Poe monument, unless he had begun such a project prior to the Civil War.[3] However, in his very warm reply to Hayne's letter, dated June 22, 1875, Swinburne wrote:

> I received your letter with pleasure, and am sincerely obligated by your kind offer of Poe's autograph, which I should much value. Let me heartily congratulate you on the honour of having been the first to set on foot the project of a monument to that wonderful and exquisite poet. It was time that America should do something to shew public reverence for the only one (as yet) among her men of genius who have won not merely English but European fame.[4]

The Poe Memorial Fund Committee, nine years after the initial efforts to secure funds for the proposed memorial, had less than $900 on hand.[5] Probably about the last of November, 1874, Hayne wrote to George W. Childs, publisher of the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, obviously enclosing a clipping of an article he had written concerning "poor Poe's grave." About the same time, the chairman of the Poe Memorial Fund Committee wrote to Mr. Childs and "within twenty-four hours, a reply was received from that gentleman, expressive of his willingness to make up the estimated deficiency of $650."[6] It seems a coincidence that Hayne from Georgia and the chairman of the Poe Memorial Fund Committee from Baltimore should have written to Mr. Childs almost simultaneously about the same matter since there seems to be no evidence of any direct connection between the efforts of the two. Hayne's letter, however, reached Childs first; and the promptness of Child's reply to the Baltimore request is explained by the fact that he had already determined to make the gift. Childs wrote the following letter to Hayne to explain his gift to the Baltimore group:

Phil. Dec 1st, 1874

My dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your polite favor.

It was through the reading of your article on poor Poe's Grave that I offered to pay all the expenses of putting a suitable monument over his remains.

In the meantime parties who had already started on the matter wrote to me on the subject, and I enclose copies of the correspondence showing the present state of the case.

With high esteem

Very truly yours,
Geo. W. Childs[7]

---

[3] See *ibid.*, in which Elliott claims that the first step toward erection of a Poe monument was taken at a regular meeting of the Public School Teachers' Association on October 7, 1865, at which time a committee was appointed to devise a method of raising money for the monument.

[4] A. C. Swinburne to Paul Hamilton Hayne, June 22, 1875, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. Permission to quote from this and other letters in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection was graciously given by the Duke University Library.

[5] Gill, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-280.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[7] George W. Childs to Paul Hamilton Hayne, December 1, 1874, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. John H. B. Latrobe was also in

Whether Childs informed the Poe Memorial Fund Committee of Hayne's part in the securing of the final $650 is not known. Hayne, however, was not invited to participate in the dedication ceremonies of the Poe Westminster Memorial, but his interest in Poe's final resting place never ceased. Two years later, he wrote to Frances Christine Fisher,[8] Southern novelist and warm friend of his, asking that on her trip to Baltimore she pluck a flower for him from Poe's grave.[9]

Descendants of Robert Brooke—On Saturday, July first, it is planned to hold exercises to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of Robert Brooke at his newly acquired manor, " De lè Brooke," on the Patuxent River, St. Mary's County.

As the owner of the present Manorhouse, I shall be more than happy to send invitations for the occasion to all actual descendants of Robert Brooke who feel disposed to get in touch with me.

L. McCormick-Goodhart,
Box 186, R. F. D. 1, Alexandria, Virginia.

Semmes Bible—The whereabouts of a Semmes family Bible, owned successively by Major Benedict Joseph Semmes, of Memphis, Tenn., Mrs. Matilda (Jenkins) Semmes, wife of Raphael Semmes of Georgetown, Mrs. Dr. Payne of Warrenton, Va., Father A. J. Semmes, of Sharon, Ga., and the late Raphael T. Semmes, the genealogist, is being sought by Mr. Clayton Torrence, c/o Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va. Anyone knowing where this Bible containing Semmes family entries can be found is asked to communicate with Mr. Torrence.

Griffin–Camphor—Information is wanted regarding the parentage of Philip Griffin of Baltimore and Baltimore County, miller, born 1782-87; died August 2, 1854; married about 1808 (where?) Rachel Camphor, born about 1791 and died about Oct.-Dec. 1825. Among children were: Mary; Robert Burns; George, James E.; John H.; Edward Burns. Parentage of Rachel Camphor especially wanted. Her mother Susanna(?) Camphor is known to have died at Baltimore about 1833-34 (also spelled Campford-Campher-Camper-Kampfer etc.) Phillip Griffin m. 2nd, Elizaberth Martin; recorded Dec. 11, 1826 and also Aug. 31, 1837 at Methodist E. Church. Children were: Andrew, Joseph, and Amanda.

R. G. Smith,
2904 13th St. South, Arlington, Va.

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correspondence with Mr. Childs about the Poe monument at the same time that Hayne wrote him. See, John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803-1891* (Baltimore, 1917), pp. 564-66.

[8] She wrote under the pseudonym of Christian Reid.

[9] Frances Christine Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, November 12, 1877, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. This letter is in reply to Hayne's letter in which he made the request.

Uniforms—A study of Baltimore Militia Uniforms (1800-1820) is being undertaken by an interested group of military historians and artists. Any information on these uniforms (sketches, drawings, descriptions, parts of uniforms, hats, buttons, etc.) will be most gratefully accepted by the undersigned.

Harry D. Berry, Jr.,
37 Alleghany Ave., Towson 4, Md.

Coombes—Information is wanted on parents of Amelia Coombs. Harford Co. marriage records show she married Aug. 10, 1791, Philip (Ruley) Reiley. Shortly thereafter they moved to Winchester, Va., circa the death of his father, Martin Reyle.

Possible parents of Amelia Coombs, then living in Harford Co., Md. were:—

Colman Combes, formerly of Harford Co. See Md. Testamentary Bk. 47, p. 44, Washington Co., Md.

Jacob Combes(t) Sr., who died 1767-69. See Md. Testamentary Bks. 42, 43, 44, Harford Co.

Utery Combes, U. S. Census, 1790, Harford Co.

James Wade Emison
Citizens Trust Bldg., Vincennes, Indiana.

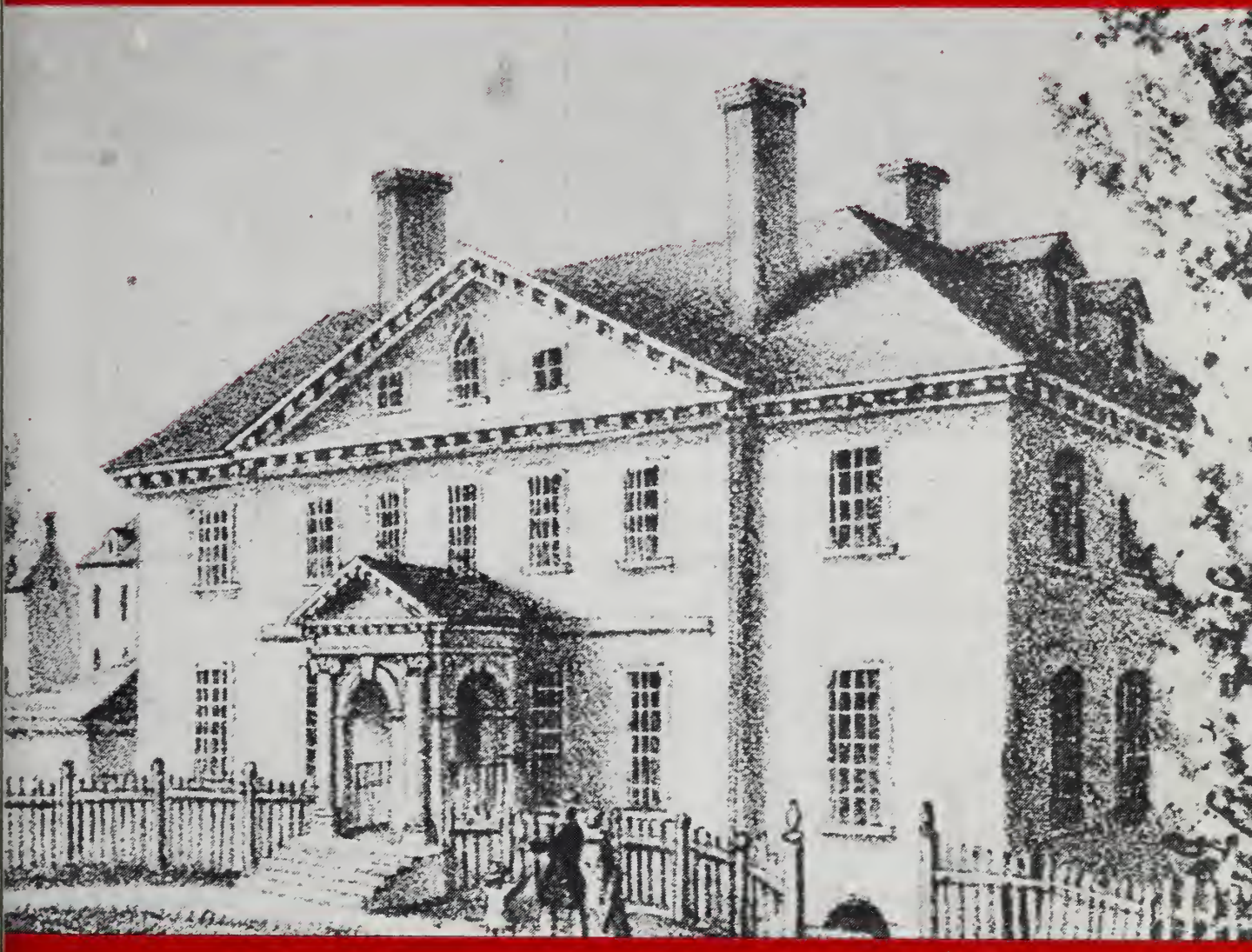
Gartrell—Information is wanted regarding ancestry and Revolutionary War record of Joseph Gartrell, born in either Anne Arundel, Frederick or Montgomery County twenty years or more prior to the Revolution. He and his brothers Francis and John were Maryland State Militiamen and were given land grants for this service in Georgia, where they moved shortly after the war. Data wanted as to births, marriages, etc.

Joseph Baird Magnus
16 Desbrosses St., New York 13, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTORS

DR. TILGHMAN, formerly a member of the faculty of St. John's College, has previously contributed several articles on the history of the College ☆ A prominent architect, MR. WATERMAN is wel lknown for his researches in the history of American colonial architecture. ☆ MR. WROTEN, a native of Dorchester County, is at present a Ph. D. candidate at the University of Colorado. ☆ A lineal descendant of Captain Ridgely, DR. HOYT formerly was Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society and is now on the faculty of Loyola College, Baltimore.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Government House, Annapolis — Front View.
Home of Maryland's Governors, 1753-1869.

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HARRY AMMON, *Editor*

HERBERT ROSENTHAL, *Editorial Assistant*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items, and of the *Archives of Maryland* under the authority of the State.

The annual dues of the Society are $5.00, life membership $100.00. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 2. Closed Sunday.

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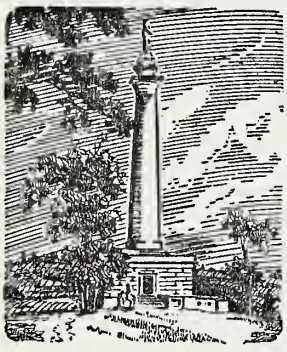

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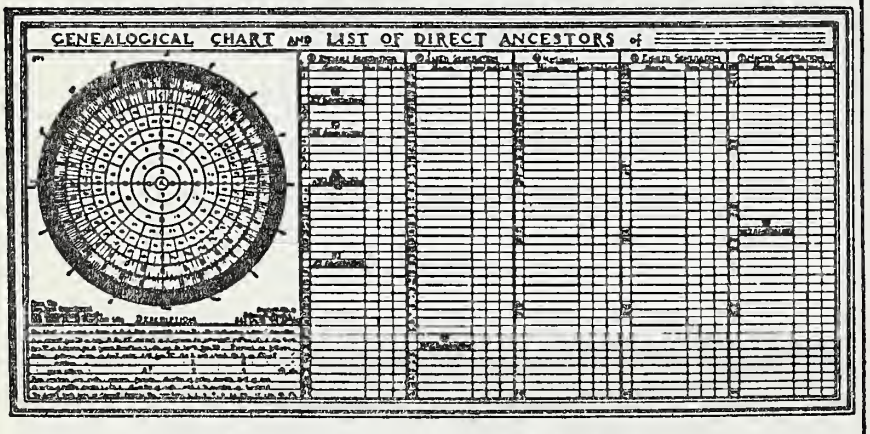

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PORTRAIT OF A COLONIAL GOVERNOR: ROBERT EDEN

I—HIS ENTRANCE

By Rosamond Randall Beirne

ON a pleasant June day in 1769 young Captain Robert Eden, his wife and two baby boys [1] with a retinue of domestics were rowed ashore from the merchant ship *Lord Baltimore* at anchor off the mouth of the Severn River. Bursts of gunfire from the ship and from the battery on shore greeted the new governor of Maryland. The Annapolis dock was thronged with the citizenry of one of the most affluent cities in the American colonies as the crowd parted to let through the splendid gentlemen of the Council who wished to be the first to welcome their new Proprietary representative.

Nearly a year had passed since Governor Sharpe had received a

[1] Frederick Morton Eden (1776-1809) and William Thomas Eden (1768-1851).

courteous letter from Lord Baltimore's secretary, Hugh Hamersley, declaring that only a most brotherly affection and congeniality for Captain Eden would have caused Lord Baltimore to remove so trusted and faithful a public servant as Colonel Sharpe.[2] The bluff old soldier received his orders philosophically, replying that "Whenever he arrives I shall receive him cordially—as an officer, a man of Honour, and the Brother of one to whom I am under great obligations. I flatter myself that I will not be less respected or esteemed when I become a private person and that I shall be happy in cultivating my Garden."[3] He, too, was on hand to greet his successor and to offer the hospitality of Whitehall, his beloved estate on the opposite shore of the river. However, since February the Edens had owned the handsome mansion, previously rented by Sharpe for the Governor's town house. They had bought it from the builder, Edmund Jennings, a former Secretary of the Colony, and long domiciled in London. The sum of £1000 had been paid for "The mansion, gardens, yards, coach house, stables, out houses, hereditaments and premises,"[4] overlooking the juncture of the Severn and Spa Creek, which forms Annapolis harbor. Into their still unfinished home went the Edens to rest from their long voyage.

Robert Eden's interest in Maryland had begun with his marriage to Caroline Calvert, daughter of Charles Calvert, 5th Lord Baltimore, and Mary, daughter of Sir Theodore Janssen. Her dissolute brother Frederick, the 6th Lord, was interested in his Province only for the income it produced for him to squander, and as a haven for the friends on whom he chose to lavish his patronage. Most of his time was spent on the continent and the hardships of travel to America did not appeal to him. In selecting his brother-in-law as Governor his own interests would be served and at the same time the Edens would be handsomely provided for. Worn out morally and physically, Frederick was pleased at this solution of advancing the attractive young husband of his favorite sister and of ridding himself of much anxiety in connection with the governing of Maryland.

Although Robert Eden received his appointment as the result of

[2] Hammersley to Sharpe, London, July 20, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 256.

[3] Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, Annapolis, 21 Oct. 1768, *ibid.*, XIV, 550.

[4] Provincial Court Deed, 1769, D. D. # 2 f 582, Land Office, Annapolis. This estate was purchased in 1866 for the U. S. Naval Academy. The house was torn down in 1901.

his marriage, he nevertheless, possessed some qualifications that fitted him for a post of responsibility. The Edens came from County Durham where they had been a family of some prominence since the 14th century. In 1672 an Eden was created Baronet of West Auckland as a belated reward for his grandfather's services to King Charles I. Sir Robert, the 3rd Baronet, had died young leaving his widow with eleven children, the eldest only 15 years old.[5] A good mother and a strong character, Lady Eden lived to see five sons grow to prominence and a daughter married to the Archbishop of Canterbury. John, the oldest son, succeeded to the West Auckland title; Robert, the Governor, became 1st Baronet of Maryland; William, secretary to Pitt and Under Secretary of State, was made the first Baron Auckland; Capt. Thomas plied his ship between Maryland and England in the tobacco trade and founded the mercantile firm of T. Eden & Co.; Morton, a diplomat, became Baron Henley. The Eden brothers had a gift for politics and a friend in William Pitt. The great Minister's unrequited love for Eleanor, William Eden's daughter, drove him to permanent bachelorhood but he held his interest for the family. There was also a clannish bond between the brothers whether their politics were in agreement or not. Incidentally, these Edens were not, as far as is known, related to Charles Eden, Governor of North Carolina from 1714 to 1722, the friend of pirates, and the man for whom Edenton was named.

Robert Eden had a good classical education before he decided on the army as a career. He was first commissioned Lieutenant Fireworker in the Royal Artillery in 1757 when only 16 years old, but transferred to the Cold Stream Guards as an Ensign the following year.[6] With the Guards the young officer received his baptism of fire in Germany during the Seven Years War when the genius of the team of Pitt and Frederick the Great began to make itself felt. Eden was married at St. Georges, Hanover Square, in 1765 and did not resign from the army until 3 years later when Lord Baltimore offered him the governorship of Maryland . For eleven years he had been a soldier and now his ability

[5] Mary, youngest daughter of William Davison of Beamish, Co. Durham. See, Rev. Robert A. Eden to Bernard C. Steiner, June 7, 1895, Maryland Historical Society.

[6] Rev. Robert Allan Eden, *Some Historical Notes on the Eden Family* (London, 1907), p. 34. *The Dictionary of National Biography* lists 10 members of this family.

to take orders as well as to command was to stand him in good stead.

The day after his arrival in Annapolis Eden went to the Council chamber to take the oath as Governor and Chancellor. There he studied the faces of the men around him, men who were to be his intimate friends and advisors for the next seven years: Benedict Calvert, his wife's half-brother; Col. William Fitzhugh of "Rousby Hall," a former Virginian; Daniel and Walter Dulany, sons of the greatest legal talent in the colonies and former Secretary of Maryland; John Beale Bordley, a brilliant and versatile man; Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer; John Ridout and Richard Lee. The local governing body consisted of two branches, the upper composed of ten men hand-picked by Lord Baltimore on the recommendation of the governor; and, the lower or elected Assembly. The Council had long been controlled by the Dulanys and their relatives with the assistance of any of the Calvert family who happened to be in Maryland. They had intermarried to the extent of forming a bloc. Nepotism flourished as succeeding generations of Dulanys, Taskers, Bladens and Ogles dealt themselves all the lucrative positions under the Proprietor. John Ridout, who had exerted great influence as Sharpe's secretary, had married Governor Ogle's daughter and was now a member of the Council in his own right. Caroline Eden was a niece of old Governor Bladen's wife and thus was a cousin of the Ogles, Taskers and Dulanys who formed the "Court Circle." Dr. Upton Scott, clerk of the Council and holder of other remunerative positions, had come to America first to fight with Wolfe at Quebec and then to follow his companion in arms, Col. Sharpe, to Annapolis as his personal physician. He had married a Miss Ross, whose father on retiring from the important duties of clerk of the Council had been able to secure the same position for his son-in-law. These were the men Sharpe had recommended so highly to his Lordship as being in his opinion "gentlemen of Integrity and well attached to your Lordship's government and as well qualified as any I know to administer Justice." [7]

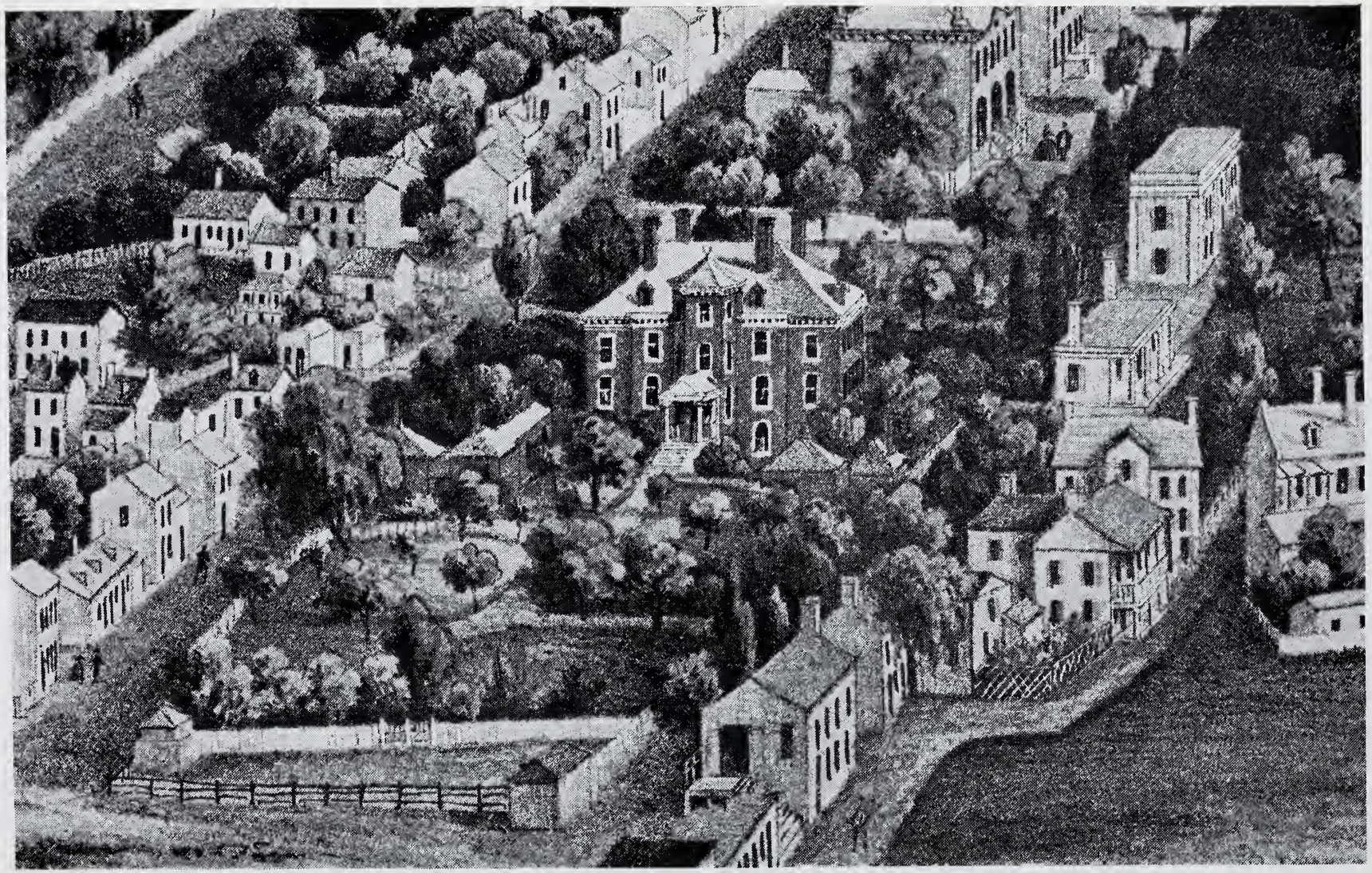
The Governor of Maryland had no easy task to perform. At a critical time when the authority of the British government was being questioned he represented both the Crown and the Lord

[7] Paul H. Giddens, "Horatio Sharpe and his Maryland Government," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXII (1937), 171.

CAPTAIN ROBERT EDEN, 1741-1784,
GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1768-1776.

By Charles Willson Peale

Portrait 14 x 9¼ inches owned 1907 by Frederick Morton Eden, Esq.



View from harbor of Governor's house. Used after 1869 by the U. S. Naval Academy as a library. It was razed in 1902 to make way for the present Bancroft Hall. Detail from lithographic bird's eye view of Annapolis by E. Sachse of Baltimore, made shortly before the Civil War. The view on the cover is from the border of another Sachse lithograph of Annapolis of slightly earlier date.

Proprietary. It was his duty to call and to dissolve the Assemblies, approve or veto laws, have criminals executed or pardon them, and to install the clergy in vacant parishes. In all he possessed a more extensive patronage than most contemporary high officials in the mother country.

Eden found himself at once embroiled in the disputes of the Marylanders over the hated Townshend Acts. That summer of 1769 the stubborn natives of Anne Arundel County had drawn up and passed non-importation resolutions. All over the colonies associations were formed whose members promised neither to trade with England nor use British goods until the tax questions were settled. Brewing, also, was the vitally important issue in Maryland's internal government on the fees of office. The tax on every hogshead of tobacco exported gave Lord Baltimore a munificent personal income and provided for the local government and defence. Almost without exception the gentlemen of the Council held the important positions—some of them two or three at a time—so that they were continually at variance with the Lower House in its efforts to reduce these fees and thereby reduce the taxes. Lord Baltimore's share was £12,500 and his revenue was further augmented by the sale of land.[8] The burden of accumulated taxes had now become so great the Assembly was determined to seek some relief. With much anger on both sides, the Governor prorogued the Assembly and was, at the end of his first year, out of sympathy with the wishes of his legislature. Since the Assembly had not agreed on extending the old law as to officers' fees, he proceeded to establish the salaries of all the officers of the province by proclamation. This high-handed act set the leading men of the colony to remonstrating bitterly, but to no avail.

At the same time another contest was being carried on, hinging on the reenactment of the old laws with regard to support of the clergy. The inducting and appointing to the various parishes of the established church was one of the Governor's duties and, under the Act of 1702, every clergyman received 40 lbs. of tobacco per poll as his salary. Even the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, one of Eden's most intimate friends, admitted that few earned or deserved these large salaries. The rector of Frederick Parish was said to receive a

[8] William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 125. For detailed account of the political developments of this period see Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940).

stipend larger than that of the Bishop of London. The Roman Cathlics and dissenting Protestants naturally objected to supporting churches in which they had no interest. The Church of England clergy, of whom there were forty-four, quite as naturally looked to the Governor as their patron and protector. For three years these controversies raged. The *Maryland Gazette,* published in Annapolis, devoted pages to the long-winded but heated letters of prominent citizens.[9]

Although William Eddis described the Governor as an early riser and a hard worker and though public affairs demanded attention, nevertheless Eden was able to devote considerable time to pure enjoyment of life.[10] First his house must be enlarged and redecorated to London standards. Wings were added and a bay on the water side increased the usefulness of the ball-room. Other alterations to the billiard room, kitchen and stables had not been completed by the winter of 1770-1. His English furniture and his many paintings gave the house an elegance not achieved by many even in a town dominated by men of wealth and taste. A portrait of Charles I, the Edens' benefactor, hung on the stair case; another of Frederick, Lord Baltimore, adorned the " Picture Parlour "; while the landscapes of that worthy's travelling companion, Francis Smith, for a while the rage of London, were interspersed with views of Dunkirk, and other cities, all in their gilt frames.[11] The terraced garden was extensive and ran almost to the river's edge, terminating in a mound from which one could see the shores of Kent Island.

Governor Sharpe, a bachelor, when not traveling on His Majesty's business in connection with his duties as Commander-in-Chief of the forces against the French and Indians, had spent much of his time at his farm across the Severn. Now for the first time in many years there was to be real leadership in the rounds of gayety and fashion that were part of the life of the well-to-do in Annapolis. Hospitality and good living were to be dispensed with lavish hand.

Since 1721 the governors of Maryland had made horse racing

[9] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 37.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[11] Inventory of Household Furniture of Sir Robert Eden, bart. 1779-1781 left in possession of his Excellency Thomas Sim Lee, Esq., Red Book # 1, Hall of Records. When the property was taken over by the Naval Academy the furniture was sold at public auction. See Ferdinand Latrobe, " Reminiscences," Baltimore *Sun*, Oct. 18, 1908.

fashionable and Robert Eden carried on this tradition. He was at once made a Steward of the Jockey Club and entered his horse "Regulus" in the Fall races. Col. Sharpe, in reducing his expenses to fit the life of a retired army colonel, had sold most of his stable and Eden bought his best known mare "Why Not" at this sale. "Badger," a grey horse, was imported by the Governor in 1770 to stand at his stud farm. "Slim" and "Cook Aglin" were acquired later. "Regulus" purchased from Benedict Calvert, while fast, had a bad trick of throwing his rider so that "Why Not" was his only consistent winner. The three mile track laid out to the west of the city drew crowds from the countryside both Spring and Fall and there were other races held during the season at the larger tracks at Marlboro, Joppa, Elk Ridge and Charles Town as well as at 16 smaller country fairs. Purses were as much as 100 guineas and competition keen when the best horses of Virginia, and, even New York, were on hand to race those of the Marylanders.[12] "They Game high, Spend freely and Dress exceedingly gay" reported one stranger who happened by at racing time.[13]

Further entertainment was provided at racing time by the theatrical stock company which traveled from city to city. A fine new theatre was finished in 1771 for which the Governor was largely responsible. He was very fond of the stage and led the list of subscribers. Shakespeare was added to a repertory of such modern plays as *The Roman Father* and *The Mayor of Garrett*.[14] A public ball room was also built about the same time and the dances held there were an added attraction for the many visitors who came to town for the "Season."

Of the several men's clubs which flourished in Annapolis at this time the "Homony" was, perhaps, the most famous. The members were chosen solely for their entertainment value and evenings were spent around the punch bowl in satiric, whimsical conversation and "ingenius humor." Everyone who was anybody wanted to be a member, commented the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, the club's first president, and so the Governor was admitted as an Honorary

[12] Date set by order of silver spoons as prizes to be made by Cesar Ghiselin, Mayor's Court, Annapolis, Sept. 6, 1721, J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715-1830* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 52-54; Francis Barnum Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922), pp. 62-71.

[13] Nicholas Creswell, *Journal, 1774-1777* (London, 1925), p. 20.

[14] David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), p. 149.

member. When he did not attend weekly meetings he had, like all other members, to keep in good standing by sending a written explanation of his absence. There is one of his excuses in existence in which he most humbly and at great length plead official work and poor health.[15]

Both for business and for pleasure Eden tried to know his Maryland and its inhabitants. Hardly a month passed that he was not on the road, visiting, studying farming, looking at newly developed areas, discussing politics and being charming to the ladies. He had scarcely arrived in this country when he went to Williamsburg to pay his respects to his closest official neighbor, Lord Botetourt, Governor of Virginia. The great highway of the Potomac drew the two colonies together. Lees, Fitzhughs and Masons lived on both sides of the river and the Squire of Mount Vernon was as intimate with his Maryland friends as with those in Williamsburg and the lower Virginia counties. However, in November of 1769 Washington was visiting his own capital city and thus met the new governor of Maryland, at Councillor Robert Carter's dinner, beginning a friendship which lasted for the remaining fifteen years of Eden's life.[16]

Col. Washington and the Governor had a mutual friend in the Rev. Jonathan Boucher. More of a schoolteacher than a parson, he held parishes in Virginia before bettering his position by moving to St. Anne's in Annapolis through the patronage of Eden. Among the boys in his school whom he moved to his new rectory were John Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's son, and Charles Calvert, son of Benedict Calvert of Mount Airy. Boucher was a cultivated man, a strong if tempestuous Christian leader, a man of violent likes and dislikes. He tells us that St. Anne's was called "Gradus ad Parnassum" and so he, like many of his predecessors, moved on to richer fields in Prince Georges' County, taking his school with him. St. Barnabas' rectory was one of the favorite objectives of the Governor's coach and four.[17] There too, rode Col. Washington to see his stepson and to enjoy the good company provided by his learned friend.

Very like the royal progresses were the Governor's early wander-

[15] December 26, 1771, Gilmor Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

[16] Washington Diaries ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick (4 vols., New York, 1925) I, 352, November 6, 1769. Councillor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall.

[17] Rev. Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789* (New York, 1925), p. 75. The rectory was Mt. Lubentia, then called Castle Magruder.

ings around his domain. " Rousby Hall " in Calvert County, the seat of Col. William Fitzhugh, was the scene of many happy visits. Col. Fitzhugh had his schooner bring the party from Annapolis to spend Christmas of 1770 with him. The Governor, perhaps because his wife could not accompany him, passed Christmas day at home. His family had been augmented by the birth of a daughter (Catherine) in May of that year. William Eddis, Clerk of the Loan Office, describes meeting his Excellency with a numerous party at another country estate and then proceeding to Rousby Hall where the holiday season was celebrated for three weeks. From there they then " visited most of the principal families in Calvert, St. Mary's, Charles, Prince George's and Anne Arundel Counties; and were everywhere received with the most obliging proofs of regard and attention." [18]

A few months earlier the Governor's official family had been most hospitably entertained on the Eastern Shore, where again schooner and coach carried them from plantation to plantation and where " the true American breakfast consisted of ham, venison and beef besides the usual relishing articles." Eddis was particularly impressed with Frederick County and the frontiers of the province which he and Eden visited in the summer of 1772. As far west as Hagerstown he noted the fertility of the soil and the productive orchards. This trip must have been strictly on business for there are no comments on sumptuous banquets.

The leading Maryland families in a very short time fell captive to the Governor's charm. The Council and the Council's relatives were already on terms of the greatest intimacy with him. In February, 1770, the Edens celebrated the Proprietary's birthday with a grand entertainment in the new ball-room. " Cards and dancing engaged the attention of their respective votaries till an early hour." [19] On the Edens' invitation list, but not among his happy admirers were the Carrolls, who sulking in their political and religious tents, wrote and spoke critically of their chief executive. Old Charles Carroll spent most of his time supervising his large estate " Doughoregan," thirty miles from the world of his clever son in Annapolis. Through the years they wrote almost daily letters to each other, replete with news and opinions. Trained like a prize fighter by the wise old man, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was about to enter the ring as self appointed

[18] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 27.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

defender of the liberties of the people and leader of the anti-Eden party. As Roman Catholics the Carrolls had long suffered political disabilities and personal feelings, no doubt, spiced their opinions. Charles Carroll informed his father: "The Govr. is shamefully too dissipated. Marlboro Races, Oxford Races, what time will He Have to Consider our Cause before 3rd Tuesday in this month?" [20] The bitter controversy over officers' fees, between those who received them and those who paid them, was drawing political lines ever more sharply. Charles Carroll of Carrollton as champion of the Marylanders against the non-American incumbents in office fattening on the fee system, drew the fire of the leading lawyer of his day, Daniel Dulany. For months the anonymous letters of each appeared in the *Gazette* until all secrecy was dropped in the bitterness of the argument. Eddis was right when he said, "Party prejudices have little influence on social intercourse." [21] Charles Carroll advised his son not to show his true feelings to the Governor as he must learn to get on with all kinds of people: "Act with the Governor and visit him as usual. His fickle behaviour and mean condesentation [*sic*] to the Dulanys justly lessens him in your and the esteem of everyone acquainted with their pride and insolence." [22] Yet all the time the lonely old man, isolated sometimes by twenty inches of snow, craved a half dozen of Mrs. Eden's latest London magazines, or the company of the Governor, his Lady, or Captain Eden of the Ship *Annapolis*, the Governor's brother, for a promised visit to his manor. Again on March 17, 1772, he wrote his son: "I hope your debaucle [*sic*] at the Govrs has not hurt you, I hear the company was highly entertained and diverted by an Altercation between Dr. Steuart and Major Jenifer on their Independance, as it is a subject on which the Dr. had great scope to shine." [23]

In spite of his gayety Eden had many things on his mind. He had begged for and been refused a Lt. Colonel's brevet which he desired in case of future wars and because Horatio Sharpe was a commissioned Colonel. He had been scolded by Lord Hillsborough for lack of vigor in not preventing the return of a ship with its contraband cargo, and, most serious of all, he had the

[20] May 7, 1771, "Extracts From the Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIII (1918), 257.
[21] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 92.
[22] "Extracts From Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV (1919), 361.
[23] March 11, 1772, *Ibid.*, XIV, 138.

news of Lord Baltimore's death in Naples in September of 1771. Sharpe wrote to his brother: " Gov. Eden has not as yet met with much to please or disgust him but I think, he is hardly as happy as he expected to be and that a different kind of life would be more to his taste." [24]

Before word of this unexpected death reached America, Eden had distracted himself with a Fall racing season and renewal of his acquaintance with Col. Washington, whom he was able to entertain in Annapolis. Later he visited his good friend, William Digges, at Warburton and at a signal from river bank to bank, Col. Washington was brought across in a great barge rowed by twelve Negroes. Four days the Governor, Mr. Boucher, Mr. Benedict Calvert and three Digges spent crossing and recrossing from Warburton to Mount Vernon, dining at Col. Fairfax's Belvoir and with each other.[25]

The death of his patron and brother-in-law was bad enough but much worse was the will in which it was discovered that the Province had been left to Lord Baltimore's illegitimate son, Henry Harford, at the time only fourteen years old. Robert Eden's position was precarious and his wife's fortune might vanish before their eyes. Under the will of Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore, Caroline Eden's older sister, Louisa Browning, would become legal heir following the death of their brother Frederick, while Caroline would receive merely a large legacy. By Frederick Calvert's will Robert Eden was made an executor and guardian, and his children would inherit the Colony, lacking heirs to the two Harford children. Which will was valid and which would be of most advantage to the Edens? It was a case for the courts to settle—but first and most important must be the confirmation of his continuance in Maryland as Governor by the other guardians in England and recognition of Harford as Proprietary by the Assembly of Maryland.

" Mr. Eden of Lincoln's Inn [26] thinks my attendence in England absolutely necessary," the Governor wrote to Lord Hillsborough asking for leave of absence because of " the critical situation of my private Affairs with Regard to the Disposition made of this

[24] Horatio Sharpe to Philip Sharpe, May 27, 1771, Bernard C. Steiner, " New Light on Maryland History," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IV (1909), 256.

[25] Washington, *Diaries*, II, 44, Dec. 9-13, 1771; Amy Cheney Clinton, " Historic Fort Washington," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII (1937), 235.

[26] William Eden, later Lord Auckland.

Province by Lord Baltimore's will." [27] A severe illness mentioned in two letters and lack of his majesty's leave apparently prevented his sailing in August with his wife on his brother's boat, the "*Annapolis*." Old Charles Carroll gallantly wrote his son: "Give our compliments to our Friends, especially Mrs. Eden. We wish her a pleasant and short passage, Health and all the Happiness she wishes." [28] With this voyage Caroline Eden and the three children passed from the American scene, for there is no further reference to them.

The Governor, forced to stay behind, contented himself with watching the erection of the new Stadt House, whose corner-stone he had layed the previous March, accompanied, the *Gazette* stated, by the toasts of the workmen and dire claps of thunder. Three visits that Fall brought Eden and Washington together. Their mutual friend, the Rev. Mr. Boucher, entertained them both in September. The Governor in his phaeton drove the party to church and then went calling on the countryside.[29] In October the Virginia Colonel had his five days of gay city life as the guest of the Governor. At Christmas the Washingtons returned the hospitality by meeting the party, twelve in all, at Warburton and taking them back to Mount Vernon for the festive season.

"Antilon" and "First Citizen" [30] were going for each other fire and tongs that Spring of 1773 and Charles Caroll of "Annapolis, resident at Doughoregan," longed for gossip and news of the debate: "The Govr. has a tickelish part to play. He may not see it, if Hartford's [*sic*] guardians notwithstanding his commission should be desirous of removing him. May they not make a pretense of his unpopularity and wrong step in issuing and supporting the proclamation. He has owned it as his own act. . . . I am glad you went to see the Govr. last Friday and wish you had found him at home." Later—"Our Govr. is what you say, a very silly idle dissipated man. Have you been in company with him since you left us if so, how did he behave? . . . I do not know that his smiles or intimacy have redounded to the credit of any ladies on whom he has been pleased to bestow them." [31]

[27] Robert Eden to Lord Hillsborough, Aug. 21, 1772, "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (1907), 297.
[28] "Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV, 280.
[29] Washington, *Diaries*, II, 78, Sept. 4-9, 1772.
[30] Daniel Dulany, the Younger and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
[31] "Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 194, 281, 369.

Eden had offered to write letters of introduction for Jacky Custis to friends in England when the Washingtons considered sending him over to complete his education. But on the advice of various men, particularly Mr. Boucher, King's College, New York, was decided upon.[32] Eden joined the travellers from Mount Vernon and accompanied them as far as Philadelphia where one of his horses was running.[33] Twice that year (1773) he was at Mount Vernon and again the Virginian was his guest in Annapolis for the Fall racing season. Would one have thought that politics in Maryland were at fever heat; that the Anti-Proclamation Party, whose mouthpiece Carroll had been, had won overwhelming victory at the polls; that the Lower House of the Assembly would in a week or two form a standing committee of correspondence and enquiry, for mutual protection of the sister colonies? Col. Washington found few subjects that could not still be agreeably debated with his friend the Governor.

During the winter of 1774 large quantities of tea were brewed in Boston harbor. William Eddis viewed "the impending storm with inexpressible inquietude."[34] By May he shouted, "All America is in a flame!" The Annapolitans had caught the contagion and joined the other colonies in a non-importation act. But Robert Eden did not feel that affairs were too serious for him to give up his long planned trip to England where his personal business called him. His sister-in-law and her husband, the John Brownings, had entered suit against Henry Harford, already proclaimed Proprietor, and his presence was imperative. There were many things to report verbally to the Colonial Office and he could assure his government that the Americans would refrain from violence if taxes were lifted. He sailed in June, leaving his province in the hands of the senior member of the Council, Richard Lee of Blenheim.

But the fire was kindled and smouldering. In unsuspecting Annapolis a confident importer tried to land a cargo of tea and the wrath of respectable citizens as well as of the mob, descended upon him. After pleading guilty and making abject apologies to his accusers, he was forced to set fire to his ship with its unwanted cargo.[35] Elections were held, delegates chosen and the first Con-

[32] Now Columbia University.
[33] Washington, *Diaries*, II, 110, May 10, 1773.
[34] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 157.
[35] Burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, Oct. 19, 1774, by her owner Anthony Stewart.

tinental Congress got under way at Philadelphia. In November, 1774, Eddis wrote: "The Governor is returned to a land of trouble. He arrived this morning in perfect health. To stem the popular torrent and to conduct his measures with consistency, will require the exertion of all his faculties." [36] His popularity with the people had not abated for crowds went to the city dock to welcome him on his return and the guns from the battery echoed to the Eastern Shore and back.[37]

Horatio Sharpe had returned to England because of a death in his family. He wrote long and often to his old friend and protegé John Ridout, for news of Annapolis and of Whitehall in particular. He was following the Harford-Browning law-suit with interest and remarked that if Eden resigned, he might return as Maryland's governor for a short time, but "Say not a word." [38] A later letter contained the opinion:

> Your observations on the governor quitting the Province with a professed declaration not to return unless a repeal of all the offensive acts should take place, are certainly most just. If he gives up the Governorship before harmony is restored there are but few men that would accept it, of which number I shall not make one. . . . Mr. Browning is the man to whom the Government of the Province will be offered and I am apt to think his circumstances are such as will induce him to accept of it, particularly if nothing turns up to encourage him in a more steady pursuit of his claim to the Province. . . . The Governor certainly judges right in leaving the Province with regard to his Brother's interest but how it will be approved of by the Ministry I know not.[39]

Col. Sharpe thought that Browning would win the suit and he also knew that Eden was striving in every way possible to make his government see that there was justice in the demands of the colonists. Sharpe had lived in Maryland so long (twenty years) that he was undoubtedly unhappy at the turn affairs were taking. If Eden was unhappy he did not show it. His buoyant nature felt that there was always hope that the storm would subside, that the Ministry would be reasonable, and that the colonists would be satisfied with some little local independence. He worked hard keeping the Colonial Office informed but he saw as much of his pleasure loving friends as ever.

[36] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 187.
[37] *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1774.
[38] Sharpe to Ridout, London, 1774, Lady Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland* (London, 1912), p. 260.
[39] May 20, 1775, *Ibid.*, p. 260.

By 1775 there were two governments in Maryland, the Proprietary vested in Eden, and, the Council of Safety. Of the two, the latter was by far the stronger. Openly now the colonies prepared for war. Conventions met, militia was organized, supplies of all kinds were gathered and everyone knew that it required very little to touch off the explosion. It came with Lexington and Concord. The Governor, writing to his brother William, told of granting the request for arms and powder but thought the powder to be twenty years old and harmless. "You need be under no uneasiness about me," he said, writing while the sound of shooting was heard in the distance, "I am well supported and not obnoxious to any unless it be to some of our infernal Independents who are in league with the Bostonians. The majority here are friends to the Government. I hourly expect some sort of uproar but am calm enough considering I am not endowed with Patience." [40] His courage and calmness increased with danger and he still held some remnant of authority. As he made clear to Lord George Germain: [41] "His Majesty hath not a Governor on this continent, who would more freely expose both his Fortune and his Life in his Service than I would. That is well known here and contributes not a little to keep the dissolute in order." The Governor's natural inclination toward moderation and his tact in dealing with the leaders of both parties, in trying to satisfy demands and yet keep Maryland under the Crown, was well illustrated by his letters.

William Eden was now in the Foreign Office and family news was also official news. In Novevmber, 1774, William wrote his brother from Downing Street:

My dear Bob:

Tom Eden is as violent a Patriot that he will not let me write one word worth your reading, as he says that my accursed Politics have already brought a flux on the Blood of our Family. Take plain facts therefore without any comment. You who are a moderate man and wish well and kindly to both Parties at the same time that you dislike the extremes of their language and conduct pursued by both will distinguish truth from Falshood in the strange Jumble of Misrepresentation with which our News-Papers are stuffed.[42]

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[40] April 28, 1775. British Public Records, Colonial Office, transcript in Library of Congress, Washington, p. 375.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] William Eden to Robert Eden, Downing St., Nov. 15, 1775, Red Book # 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

On May 5, 1775, Robert Eden explained to Lord Dartmouth that he could not prevent delegates going to the newly created Congress but was assured that they would bring about reconciliation.[43] He stressed that he had not slept twice out of the city since his return because "disorder was too active." By August he was further disturbed by the actions of two members of his Council. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, an intimate friend, had gone over to the patriots and accepted office. Beale Bordley, too, but he took an inactive part. The words Tory and Loyalist were bantered about and by Fall everyone knew where everyone else stood. Military training and the taking of an oath to support the Continental Congress were compulsory. The Governor's friends were leaving for England as fast as they could secure passage. The ports were to be closed in September so that often wives and children were sent off ahead to ensure a safe voyage. In the case of some of the Dulany clan, the men left rather than "associate" but their wives remained to hold on to the estates. The Rev. Jonathan Boucher's resounding voice had been raised long and loud in defense of his mother country. He had threatened to shoot any who removed him from his pulpit. However, discretion took the better part of valor and the worthy parson sailed with his Maryland wife on the last day of grace. Many families were divided politically, some members signing up for General Washington's army while others waited in England for the rout of it, which they were sure could not be far in the future.

The Governor was lonely that winter. The races had been cancelled at the suggestion of Congress; the theatrical company had scattered. Marylanders were pulling in their belts, preparing for hard times. No balls, no entertaining, only long articles in the *Gazette* on the making of gun-powder. To pass the time perhaps, he had the Annapolis portrait painter, Charles Willson Peale, do his portrait. The eyes and the sword did not suit and had to be altered. Mr. Peale, also, altered a hand on a crayon portrait of Mrs. Eden and daughter which had been done in England and which the Governor had brought back with him to console him for the absence of his family.[44] Dr. Upton Scott, his

[43] British Public Records, Colonial Office, transcript in Library of Congress. William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, was Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1772-75.

[44] Diary of Charles Willson Peale, Nov. 1775. Transcript owned by Charles Coleman Sellers.

physician, and opulent Clerk of the Council, was still in town. Two intimate friends who had married Dulany sisters were almost out of reach—George Fitzhugh was thirty miles away at Epping Forest [45] in Baltimore County and the Rev. John Montgomery had moved to a parish on the Eastern Shore.[46] There was little he could discuss now with the Carrolls or Jenifer, while Paca, Chase and Johnson, his old " Homony Club " cronies, were leaders of the opposition.[47] All foreign mail had been disrupted or was censored if it did get through the lines. The only chance to send or receive a letter was to smuggle it by way of the West Indies. Eddis had been honored by an invitation to be part of the Governor's household after his family left. Urging reason and moderation on the colonists he at the same time despaired of both because of rabble rousers, he reported that " a greater degree of moderation appears to predominate in this province than in any other on the continent; and I am perfectly assured we are very materially indebted for this peculiar advantage to the collected and consistent conduct of our Governor, whose views appear solely directed to advance the interests of the community; and to preserve, by every possible method, the public tranquility." [48]

The Governor relaxed from the tenseness of Annapolis long enough to go to the Eastern Shore to visit his friend the Rev. John Montgomery.[49] Installed in Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County, Montgomery was a man who spoke his language, an intimate ever since his occupancy of St. Anne's, Annapolis. The Governor was apologetic for earlier refusals of invitations but promised:

As soon as the Convention is over I will bring powder, shot and some guns and will with great Courage attack your ducks. I shall rely on your talents with the young ladies at Mrs. Chaces, for a bed-fellow—if the weather continues as cold as it is now but half, I think is preferable to a whole one. Don't tell Mrs. Montgomery and neither shall I. But I am serious in this—you can share it *now*.

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[45] 400 acres of the Dulany holdings in the Valley of Jehosophat, Baltimore County, given to Mrs. Fitzhugh after the Revolution.

[46] Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County. Ethan Allen Papers, Md. Diocesan Lib.

[47] William Paca, later Signer of the Declaration and Governor of Md., Samuel Chase, signer of the Declaration, Assoc. Justice, U. S. Supreme Court, and Thomas Johnson, 1st Governor of Md. under new constitution.

[48] Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[49] John Montgomery, called " The Beauty of Holiness," was supposed to have been the original of Thackeray's Rev. Mr. Honeyman in *The Newcomes*. See, Mrs. Rebecca Key, " A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (1919), XIV, 268. Licensed for Maryland and served 3 parishes there from 1770 until 1775, when he returned to England with his wife. Allen Papers, Md. Diocesan Library.

This facetia he repeated a month later in a letter to George Fitzhugh: "you may promise Mrs. Addison [Fitzhugh's sister-in-law, another Dulany] all or part of my room—which ever she chooses. This cold weather but half would be preferable to a whole one." [50] One would think that Eden had not a serious thought if it were not for the ending of the letter: "God bless you all, send us better Times and peace and comfort once more, as much for your sakes as that of your sincere friend and humble sert, R. Eden."

Some time that winter, still longing for the companionship of John Montgomery, he wrote him in his best classical Latin:

The Governor sends greeting to the Pastor
Most Reverend Sir:

If you can do without feminine society, most delightful though it is, and if no other duties claim you whether at home or elsewhere, do hurry over here, I beg. Don't stand on ceremony, for you will find here the following; that doctor of mine, most famous of all doctors, my secretary, (the best of all poets) and those two well known men of more advanced age (my guest and your neighbor) all dressed in leather and ready to play cards.

If your guest has no other plans either at home or abroad, do bring him with you.

Farewell [51]

The Maryland convention met in Annapolis in January and busied itself relentlessly with preparations for war. Correspondence between official England and the Continental Congress was slow and plans could not wait. A shooting war was actually going on around Boston and Norfolk, Va.; Montreal had surrendered and Eden, of all the Royal Governors, stayed on in his executive capacity, though powerless. The government had passed completely into the hands of the Council of Safety and Eden was little more than a hostage.[52] The Governor, without knowing whether any of his pleadings to his government had had results, wished once more to offer suggestions through men still friendly

[50] Eden to Montgomery, Dec. 4, 1775, Md. Historical Society; Eden to George Lee Mason Fitzhugh, son of Col. William Fitzhugh of "Rousby Hall," Jan. 29, 1776 addressed to "Epping Forest," Md. Hist. Soc.

[51] Eden to Montgomery, no date. Translated by Miss Evelyn Saunders, Bryn Mawr School, *Md. Hist. Soc.*

[52] Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Robert Eden*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, ser. 16, nos. 7-9 (Baltimore, 1898), p. 101.

to him in the Convention. In January of 1776 he drove out to Stepney, a few miles below Annapolis, to see his old companion, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. From there issued the following letter to Charles Carroll, the Barrister:

> Governor Eden is now with me and very desirous and willing to cooperate with you and Mr. Tilghman and such other gentlemen of the Convention as are willing to disperse the cloud that has almost overshadowed and ready to burst upon us.

Carroll was asked to bring a group to dinner "to form plans to save millions of money and thousands of lives." To this Barrister Carroll replied the same day explaining that they were not able to go so far and get back for the evening session of the convention but that he would be delighted to have Jenifer and Eden dine with him, if they did not mind having no meat that evening.[53] The result of the dinner meeting was three letters, two to William Eden and one to Lord Dartmouth on the subject of reconciliation, for which passes were asked from the Council of Safety and from Congress and in which Eden on his honor, said nothing unfriendly to America. The letters contained various printed news of Congress and of the Maryland Convention and what he termed "the important whisper of the Day." He told them that he had had no mail for seven months but excused the colonists for stopping it, and repeated that he was still sure that the Marylanders did not want to separate themselves from England and that he continued to hope for peace.[54]

In the meantime Annapolis was being fortified; all important state papers were removed to Upper Marlboro for safety; and a last chance given to join the militia and sign the Association or be declared an enemy. Harbors were empty; tradesmen and mechanics closed their shops; currency, except for the new American paper, was scarce, and even the farms, mostly tobacco, were neglected. Eddis and Clapham, the sole survivors of all the British officials, still manned the Loan and Land Offices and were, with the Governor, allowed their personal freedom.

Baltimore, as Eden said, was "the great scene of Maryland politics." It was a town of recent and rapid growth and its popu-

[53] This correspondence is printed in *America Archives*, ed. by Peter Force (9 vols., Washington, 1837-1853), ser. 5, V, 680.

[54] Transcripts of Eden correspondence from British Public Records Office in Fisher Transcripts, Maryland Historical Society.

lation was largely composed of merchants who were anxious to have this war settled one way or another. A radical group prevailed, though being the younger city their representation in the Convention and in Congress was less strong than was that of the conservative planters of Southern Maryland. However, the radicals grew in strength each day and looked with impatience on the diplomatic messages and placating tone that emanated from the capital city. Why was not Eden confined or sent home at once? He was, they said, undoubtedly acting as secret agent for the Crown and as such was dangerous to the commonwealth. The ardent patriots of Virginia on the one side and of Pennsylvania on the other, demanded that some action be taken with regard to the Governor. This was the first, but not the last, time that Maryland resented interference with her sovereign rights. The Annapolis Council rebuffed its critics in no uncertain terms and allowed the Governor to remain.

The case broke when letters from Lord George Germain [55] to Eden were intercepted. Lord George had succeeded Lord Dartmouth in the Colonial Office and was noted for his carelessness. In answering Eden's letter of the previous August he gave away much of the news that had been sent him. He also announced that a fleet was on its way to the southern colonies, " his Majesty's deluded subjects." [56] These letters were enough to condemn Eden, but in spite of them there were still friends in power who stood up for his claim as a peacemaker. However, the Baltimore Committee of Observation took the whole matter to Congress and orders to seize the papers and person of the Governor were sent to Annapolis. An armed platoon under Captain Samuel Smith arrived in a boat to carry out the orders of the officious Baltimoreans but the Council of Safety sped them home with alacrity. There was an exchange of polite letters, Eden denying that he had ever done anything secretly or hostile to Maryland, reaffirmed his desire to remain as Governor as long as he could be helpful. The Council believed him and almost apologized for ever having been suspicious.

For the month that followed until the next meeting of the Maryland Convention Eden gave his voluntary parole not to leave

[55] George Sackville, Lord George Germain, afterwards Viscount Sackville and Baron Bolebroke, Secretary of State for Colonies, 1775-1782. Letters written Dec. 25, 1775. Fisher Transcripts, Md. Hist. Soc.

[56] *American Archives*, ser. 4, V, 1594.

the country, but at the same time he was quietly packing his belongings preparatory to his departure which seemed inevitable. Finally on May 24 a committee of five was appointed by the Convention to present the resolutions it had passed declaring "that the Publick quiet and safety . . . require that he leave the Province and that he is at full liberty to depart peaceably with all his effects." Eden told his visitors that he should "still continue most sincerely to wish for the welfare and prosperity of Maryland, and consequently, for a reconciliation with and constitutional dependency on Great Britain." Though independence was only six weeks off, there were many there that day who whole-heartedly agreed with Eden's wish. On the seventh and again on the twelfth of June the Governor called his old Council together to arrange the closing of all departments except the Land Office, and with its adjournment the Upper House of the Colonial Assembly forever passed away.[57]

The moderation of the Convention and of the Council of Safety in allowing the Governor to depart voluntarily was not popular with the Baltimoreans and other groups in the Province. The Virginians, too, still cried out for his blood. Gen. Charles Lee wrote Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia, "What poor mortals are these Maryland Council men! I hope the Congress will write a letter to the People of that Province at large advising 'em to get rid of their damn'd Government. Their aim is to continue feudal Lords to a Tyrant." [58]

John Parke Custis, a Virginian, awaiting the birth of a Maryland child at the seat of his father-in-law, Mount Airy, shows additional anxieties in writing to his mother, Mrs. Washington:

> . . . and I believe the Province of Maryd will shortly be in a State of the greatest Confusion; the People being discontented with their Convention; and Mr. Calvert takes a Part which I fear will involve Him in many Troubles . . . Govr Eden sails for England in a few days, or goes on board a man of War, there are many tories who would go with Him most willingly, but I hear He has absolutely refused to carry them with Him.[59]

Eden continued "easy and collected" and was "treated with every exterior mark of attention" but he anxiously awaited a

[57] Steiner, *Robert Eden*, p. 133.

[58] Charlestown, June 29, 1776, Charles Lee papers, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1872*, p. 96.

[59] John Parke Custis to Martha Washington, "Mount Airy," June 9, 1776. Mount Vernon Collection. Benedict Calvert was a member of the dissolved Council. He remained in Maryland during the Revolution.

vessel to take him away.[60] At length on June 23, *Fowey* a naval ship of the line appeared in the harbor and the Governor was conducted to his barge by the entire Council of Safety, who took "an affectionate leave of their late supreme magistrate."[61] Unfortunately the promise to get his baggage on board was not carried out. Retaliation for the *Fowey's* refusal to land some refugee servants was taken out on the Governor, and his belongings were returned to his late residence. The last tribute paid him by his friends was when a group of gentlemen from Oxford took some sheep and hogs aboard before the ship sailed down the Bay.[62]

The last Colonial Governor to the end of his administration was sincerely solicitous for the welfare of the Province. Unfortunately he trusted the advice of the wealthy, conservative Dulanys and had not the imagination to see clearly the advancing line of democracy. His frank, easy manner and his personal charm made friends wherever he went. He had courage, both moral and physical. While not courting danger, he took it in his stride, caring neither for the threats of the mob nor for the insults of former friends. Perhaps he could not understand, kindly and generous as he was, that anyone could hate him. Of the impressions left by his intimate friends, that of William Eddis is all adulation. Boucher, a more outspoken man, saw his faults as well as his virtues:

> "Sir Robert Eden was a handsome, lively and sensible man. He had been in the Army and had contracted such habits of expense and dissipation as were fatal to his fortune and at length his life. . . . With an income of 3 or 4 thousand pounds a year, he was always in debt, and although he had great quickness of parts and a large experience of the world, he was a bad politican, as being not sufficiently steady and firm. . . . Few equalled him in letter writing."[63]

Eden's letters show discernment, tact and a fluency of expression. His library of French books was a pleasure to borrowing friends.[64] In his letter of August 27, 1775 to the Colonial Office he quoted Montesquieu, Locke and Blackstone. His Latin is scholarly and he knew Horace by heart.

Thomas Jennings, Poet Laureate of the Homony Club, immortalized him in a long poem on the members:

[60] Eddis, *Letters*. p. 310.
[61] *Ibid*., p. 313.
[62] *Archives of Md*., XI, 529.
[63] Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 67.
[64] C. W. Peale Diary, Nov. 4, 1775. Transcript owned by C. S. Sellers.

Me thinks I see with slow and solemn pace
The grave Sir Robert take his destined place;
His courtly bow and unaffected air,
The high-bred man of quality declare,
Kind, lavish nature did to him impart
Endowment proper for the dancing art;
and all must own that 'tis to his address
our club's admired so much for politeness.[65]

Eden's scholarship and friendliness were outweighed, however, by his frivolity in the eyes of many of the Marylanders, including the Carroll family. Bits of gossip between Carrolls were constantly driving home the fact that the Governor was "a very dissipated man." Charles Carroll of Annapolis found one story was worth sending across the ocean.

"The Major [Daniel of St. T. Jenifer] tells me he has wrote to you lately, I suppose he has given you an account of his and deButt's [John Debutts, an Irishman, visiting in Annapolis] rastling at the Gov's and some other particulars of that drunken frolic. Mrs. Eden was so much alarmed (as it is said) at ye disturbance they made in ye house that she miscarried." [66]

John Beale Bordley, one of the better minds of the Council, added his comment—"Foppery, idleness and dissipation are striding briskly on to bring about a general change of proprietors for our land." [67] The poem to First Citizen published in The *Maryland Gazette*, June 10, 1773, shows, crude though it is, that the Governor's popularity was not universal;

"We're assured that no plot we e'er shall succeed in
'Till we send into exile all men of reading
and hang up their patron this little God Exxx."

More courtier, than statesman; more hearty in manner than deep in feeling; victim of his class and training, one feels that Boucher summed him up wisely when he said: "Yet with all his follies and foibles which were indeed abundant,—he had such a warmth and affectioness of heart that it was impossible not to love him." [68]

(*to be concluded*)

[65] Ms poem by Thomas Jennings ca. 1770, Gilmor Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.
[66] Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, the Barrister, Aug. 9, 1771. *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII (1932), 200-201.
[67] John Beale Bordley to Jennings, 1771 quoted in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II. 49.
[68] Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 67.

THE UNION PARTY CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE IN 1864

By William Frank Zornow

AT the height of the Civil War in 1864 the political parties girded for battle in the first war-time presidential election in American history. Within the Republican or Union party there was much opposition against the suggestion that Abraham Lincoln should be renominated. This opposition was being led by a group of malcontents who styled themselves "radicals"; they felt that Lincoln's attitudes on the important problems of reconstruction and emancipation were too conservative. It was their hope to replace him with a man of more radical stripe such as Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, General Benjamin F. Butler, or John C. Frémont. Some even spoke of the possibility of nominating Ulysses S. Grant.

Early in 1864 successive booms were launched for Chase by his treasury agents and a few minor political bosses, as well as for Butler by a few of his staff and personal friends. Due to divisions within the Radical ranks, the compelling power of Lincoln's machine and the executive patronage, and the pressure of the voters who indicated emphatically that they would accept no candidate but "Honest Abe," these efforts had been easily beaten. With Frémont, on the other hand, Lincoln had less success, and the Pathfinder was nominated in May at Cleveland, Ohio by a group of dissatisfied Germans and abolitionists who created an ephemeral party known as the Radical Democracy. The boom for Grant was a complete failure when the general refused to have his name considered for political office while the war was yet to be won.

When the radicals failed to develop a candidate of sufficient stature to challenge Lincoln's claim for renomination, they tried to gain additional time by having the party convention delayed

until late in the summer. They hoped that by then public opinion would have shifted against Lincoln so that he could be safely shunted aside. These hopes failed to materialize too when the Union party's National Executive Committee met on February 22 at the home of its chairman, Senator Edwin D. Morgan of New York, and chose June 7th for the date of the convention, and Baltimore as its site. The selection of such an early date was a definite triumph for Lincoln and his friends for it enabled the chief executive to capitalize on his great popularity with the voters.

During the intervening months from February to June before the Baltimore meeting, the various state legislatures and the Union party state conventions adopted resolutions warmly supporting Lincoln's renomination and instructing the delegates chosen to attend at Baltimore to vote for him. By the time the convention met Lincoln had been assured of the support of every state except Missouri. There did not seem to be any power which could prevent his selection, nevertheless, the Radicals were not entirely reconciled to the inevitable choice facing them, and there was always the danger the party might split to pieces at the last moment while they bolted and chose another candidate.

The Union party convention at Baltimore in 1864 was one of the most interesting political gatherings of the Civil War period. It is unique in that it was the only national convention of this party. The party was a fusion of Republicans, war-Democrats, and others who had united solely to fight the war; it dissolved quickly when peace was restored. It marked the ascendancy of Lincoln and his conservative friends over the radical wing of the Republican party. After this there was a steady decline of conservative influence as the Radicals came into their own during 1865. Already at the convention important concessions were made to the Radicals by Lincoln, who in his customary wisdom saw that they were no longer willing to tolerate his " border state " policies. The concessions he made at the convention won him their temporary support. The convention is interesting too because it produced its share of political bargains and serves to show quite clearly the astuteness of Lincoln the politician as he remained behind the scenes yet directed many of the most important deliberations of the meeting through emissaries especially chosen for the task. Lastly, in the national struggle for freedom the convention was a significant landmark because it adopted a plat-

form calling for a constitutional amendment prohibiting the hated institution of slavery.

On the eve of the Baltimore convention there seemed to be no obstacles in the way of securing Abraham Lincoln's renomination. In turn both Chase and Butler had entered the list against him only to suffer the ignominy of defeat. The boom for Grant had expired with a mild sputter after Lincoln dampened its fuse and the general himself expressed little interest in any movements other than Lee's. Frémont was gathering his little brood at Cleveland as he sought to find a devious path which might lead him to the White House. They were not strong enough to prevent Lincoln's renomination, neverthless, they were important enough to bear close watching for they might drain off enough votes in some of the states to influence the outcome of the election. "This Frémont movement is a weak thing," wrote one of Andrew Johnson's friends, "but just about as strong as the Birney movement which defeated Henry Clay in 1844." [1] Lincoln would have to deal with Frémont before November, but for the time being no obstacle seemed to stand in the President's path. A majority of the delegates were instructed to vote for him and most of the others were pledged to support him. Lincoln, however, was still cautious and took a decidedly gloomy view of the situation.

To Alexander McClure, Lincoln expressed his pessimistic outlook and was promptly reassured that no power could prevent his selection. "Well, McClure, what you say seems to be unanswerable," admitted Lincoln, "but I don't quite forget that I was nominated for President in a convention that was two-thirds for the other fellow." [2] Abram Dittenhoefer, who was also a delegate chosen to attend the convention, visited Washington about a week before the meeting and found Lincoln quite worried. He tried to reassure the chief executive, who seemed to feel that the New York delegation would turn against him. Dittenhoefer spoke of the loyalty of William Seward, and Thurlow Weed, and promised that even Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* would support him. Lincoln brightened considerably. "That's good news," he replied.[3] The President apparently did not trust the radical mem-

[1] George Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, June 11, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS, Library of Congress.

[2] Alexander K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 124.

[3] Abram J. Dittenhoefer, *How We Elected Lincoln* (New York, 1916), pp. 77, 80-81.

bers within his party but suspected until the very eve of the convention that they might undo the work of his friends and office-holders and nominate another candidate. These fears were by no means groundless, for it was well known that Radical Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy had been working to call a special " people's convention " in Baltimore to meet simultaneously with the regular party gathering.[4]

The disheartening news of the butchery at Cold Harbor did not diminish the enthusiasm of the campaign and all looked forward with much anticipation to the coming canvass.[5] Washington was alive with activity as politicians bound for Baltimore from the hinterlands stopped off in order to pay their respects.[6] " Washington is overrun with politicians, with contractors, and with busy-bodies of all kinds and sizes," quipped Adam Gurowski, radical opponent of Lincoln's administration: " The Baltimore Convention is at the door, and the ravens make due obeisance to the White House." [7] After a brief consultation with the White House sage, they were off again for the convention.

In Baltimore the delegations from New York and the eastern states took up their residence at the Eutaw House, while those from Pennsylvania and the West took up their abode at Barnum's City Hotel.[8] The city was rife with intrigue and speculations. Who would the vice-presidential nominee be? What about the two delegations which had appeared from Missouri? What was to be the fate of the delegations from Lincoln's bayonet states of the newly " reconstructed " South? These and many other questions were upon everyone's lips. There did not seem to be much speculation as to whether or not Lincoln would be selected; this apparently was a foregone conclusion.[9] Many expressed the

[4] John Wilson to Salmon Chase, May 2, 1864, Salmon Chase MSS, Library of Congress. This project was later abandoned.

[5] James F. Rhodes, *The History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South* (New York, 1907), IV, 468.

[6] Tyler Dennett (ed.), *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), p. 185. Diary entry of June 5, 1864.

[7] Adam Gurowski, *Diary* (Washington, 1866), III, 246-247. Entry of June 5, 1864.

[8] Baltimore *Sun,* June 7, 1864. In honor of the occasion the hotelkeepers of Baltimore had agreed to raise their prices to $7.00 a day for a single room. Baltimore *Clipper*, June 3, 1864.

[9] Abram Dittenhoefer, *op. cit.,* p. 82. He claimed that there was much grumbling among the Radicals, but that they were resigned to taking Lincoln. Andrew White, *Autobiography* (New York, 1905), I. 120. White wrote, " The general opinion of the delegates clearly favored the renomination of Mr. Lincoln."

opinion, however, that the radicals would not accept the results of the convention but would bolt. Campaign biographies of Chase were in evidence throughout the city, which served to remind many that his friends were still hoping for a miracle.[10] On June 6th, the Radicals printed and distributed a circular among the delegates. This document asked a series of questions concerning the efficiency of Lincoln's administration. " Is it not a fact that large numbers of the Baltimore Convention regret that they have been instructed to nominate a man for President whom they feel is the most vulnerable to attack of any who might be named by the party? " asked the Radicals as they sought to sow seeds of doubt in the delegates' minds. The circular intimated that Lincoln had stolen his whole program from Frémont and Chase.[11]

The full scope of this dissatisfaction with Lincoln among the delegates was difficult to estimate accurately; therefore, to gain a better clue as to its extent the meeting of the National Grand Council of the Union League of America, which was scheduled to meet in Baltimore on June 6th, was watched with special interest. The League had met the preceding December in Washington and adopted resolutions against Lincoln. Many members of the Grand Council had at that time preferred Chase. The December meeting had adjourned to meet " at the same place and at about the same time as the Republican National Convention." Hence, the June 6th meeting in Baltimore.

This session would be a most revealing curtain raiser for the main event, for it was here that the Radicals would probably make their last bid against Lincoln's power. The President, when he expressed his doubts to McClure and Dittenhoefer, may have feared that the Radicals assembled in the league meeting might stampede the convention into some hasty action and induce the delegates to nominate another candidate.

On June 6th a group of the delegates in Baltimore began to slip away quietly from their hotels about noon and headed for the League meeting. According to William Stoddard, who has left an interesting account of this session, these men were " the

[10] Chase had written to Senator John Sherman that no further attention was to be given his name; copies of this letter were also being circulated among the delegates. J. G. Jewell to Salmon Chase, June 9, 1864, Salmon Chase MSS.

[11] Baltimore *Gazette*, June 9, 1864; J. Hiestand to Thad. Stevens, May 29, 1864, Thaddeus Stevens MSS, Library of Congress. Hiestand urged Stevens and the Radicals to " make some demonstration which will force Lincoln up to some higher point. . . ."

majority in number and the overwhelming preponderance in power of the body of delegates" which would gather at the party convention the following day. Stoddard expected that all the debating for the national convention would be transacted at the League meeting so that with all questions settled in advance the latter assembly would present an appearance of complete unanimity. "It is the place where all the anti-Lincoln steam is to be let off," explained Stoddard, "so that it will not scald the work in the Wigwam. There was never a wiser provision made for the escape of dangerous vapor." [12]

Stoddard's claim that the delegates at the council meeting represented a majority of the delegates to the national convention was erroneous. Actually there were only 136 delegates present at the council meeting.[13] Of this number only thirty-six appeared on the list of delegates to the national convention. There were more than five hundred delegates selected for the national convention. If all the 136 members of the Grand Council had been delegates to the national convention, they would have constituted less than one quarter of the members and not a majority as Stoddard claimed. Additional proof that all the members of the Grand Council were not delegates to the party convention is to be found in the fact that they adopted a resolution asking Edward McPherson for tickets to the party convention.[14] If all had been members, they would not have needed tickets to gain admission.[15]

At the meeting of the Grand Council Lincoln's opponents paraded once again the old threadbare accusations of malfeasance, tyranny, corruption, favoritism, frivolity, and vulgarity. This all-out attack had been precipitated when Samuel Miller of Pennsylvania offered a resolution recommending the renomination of Lincoln and Hamlin. During the assault Lincoln's friend and emissary, Senator James H. Lane of Kansas, sat impatiently biding his time. To protect his interests at the league session, Lincoln had requested the Senator to attend on his behalf.[16] At length

[12] William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Time* (New York, 1890), p. 238.

[13] *Meeting of the National Grand Council of the Union League of America, June 6, 1864* (n. p., n. d.), pp. 2-4.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[15] Anna Smith Hardie, "The Influence of the Union League of America on the Second Election of Lincoln," Unpublished M. A. thesis in the library of Louisiana State University, 1937, pp. 43-45.

[16] John Speer, *Life of General James H. Lane* (Garden City, Kansas, 1896), p. 279.

Lane took the floor. The Kansan was described as a man with a "peculiar faculty for saying an offensive, insolent thing in the most galling offensive and insolent manner." He lived up to this reputation as he flayed the Radicals and refuted one by one their accusations against Lincoln. At first the Radicals were incensed over his venomous counter-attack, but gradually they began to

> lean forward and listen, while they more or less rapidly are swept into the tide of conviction and are made to believe, with him that any other nomination than that of Lincoln tomorrow is equivalent to the nomination of [George B.] McClellan by the Republican Convention and his election by the Republican Party; that it would sunder the Union, make permanent the Confederacy, reshackle the slaves, dishonor the dead and disgrace the living.[17]

At length the Radical opposition to Lincoln subsided before Lane's eloquent appeal; Miller's resolution was adopted with but few dissenting voices. Other resolutions were also approved which foreshadowed to a large extent those which would comprise the party's platform. Having blown off one last head of steam against Lincoln's renomination, the National Grand Council of the Union League of America adjourned its session.

By some connivance the malcontents, reputedly under the direction of the wily Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, had managed to rent the regular Baltimore convention hall for June 7th. The delegates suddenly found themselves without a hall in which to assemble. Various counter-proposals were made ranging from a suggestion that the meeting move to Philadelphia to one that a temporary shelter should be constructed, but at last it was decided to move the meeting into the Front Street Theatre, and it was there that the delegates took their seats at the appointed hour.[18] "What a crowd of sharp faced, keen, greedy politicians. These men would literally devour every one in their way . . . everywhere shoddy contractors, schemers, pap-journalists, expectants, etc., etc., The atmosphere, the spaces are filled with greedy and devouring eyes. The moral insight of the convention would disgust one with the people, but I know the various combinations and events which brought this scum to the

[17] William O. Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 239. General George McClellan later accepted the Democratic nomination on a platform which branded the war a failure and called for an immediate armistice.

[18] Gideon Welles, *op. cit.*, II, 30. Entry of May 13, 1864; George F. Milton, *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (New York, 1930), pp. 42-43.

surface, and I know that it is not the genuine people," said Gurowski as he surveyed the assemblage.[19] The throngs which gathered here were arranged in four tiers. On the main floor were the delegates; on the first tier were placed the alternates; on the second balcony were the ladies and gentlemen who had come to see the show; and the fourth tier was crowded with a miscellaneous crowd of spectators representing every political party and all shades of acceptable and questionable society.[20] In this small arena one of the most important political episodes of the Civil War was to be enacted.

The conditions in the cramped theatre were by no means ideal. Andrew White described the meeting later in his memoirs in the following passage:

> . . . Although I have attended several similar assemblages since, no other has ever seemed to me so interesting. It met in an old theater, on one of the noisiest corners in the city, and, as it was June, and the weather already very warm, it was necessary, in order to have as much air as possible, to remove curtains and scenery from the stage and throw the back of the theater open to the street. The result was, indeed, a circulation of air, but, with this, a noise from without which confused everything within.[21]

It was no wonder that the delegates were impatient with the speakers and refused to permit any of the longer winded politicians to occupy the floor for more than a few moments. The deliberations of this body were characterized by the amazing speed with which they were transacted. Any one who attempted an unnecessary address was quickly silenced by the jeers and catcalls of the delegates and spectators.

New York Senator Edwin D. Morgan, chairman of the National Executive Committee, called the convention to order at noon on June 7th. The Senator, who according to reporter Noah Brooks had " no marked aptitude " for his job, gave a brief address which contained one significant sentence. " The party . . ." he insisted, " will fall short of accomplishing its great mission, unless, among its other resolves it shall declare for such an amendment of the constitution as will positively prohibit African slavery in the United States." [22] A torrent of prolonged applause and cheering

[19] Adam Gurowski, *op. cit.*, III, 249. Entry of June 7, 1864.
[20] Baltimore *Gazette,* June 8, 1864.
[21] Andrew White, *op. cit.*, I, 117.
[22] Noah Brooks, " Two War-Time Conventions," *The Century Magazine,* XLIX (March, 1895), 723-724.

followed this assertion. Though Wendell Phillips later insisted that it was his abolitionists and the Cleveland convention of the Radical Democracy which had given birth to the idea of a thirteenth amendment, it was the President himself who had suggested to Morgan several days before that this reference should be included in his opening message.[23] Lincoln showed his remarkable aptitude again for accomplishing two objectives with one stroke; he placated the abolitionists and robbed the Frémont movement of its most salient plank.

Doctor Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky was proposed by Morgan as the president *pro-tem*; whereupon this well known cleric was escorted to the chair from which he delivered a lengthy speech. According to Nicolay and Hay the speech was extemporaneous and " delivered with great ease and dignity, and profoundly impressed his auditors "; Noah Brooks, on the other hand, found that the doctor had a " weak voice and an irresolute manner . . . [and] was unable to make himself heard when the business of organization began." [24]

Breckinridge assumed at the outset that the convention would renominate Lincoln for he inquired, " Does any man doubt that this Convention intends to say that Abraham Lincoln shall be the nominee? " Another thunder of applause and cheering followed this statement, and when order had been restored the Kentuckian went on to discuss at some length the principles involved in the conflict. He indicated that though the constitution was sacred to all, the nation was not its slave. It could be altered from time to time when the need arose, he insisted. The accusations which were being levelled against Lincoln by some within the party and by the opposition that he was violating the constitution, he contended, were invalid for the need had arisen for altering the customary concept of the document. Another point upon which he dwelt at great length was that the delegates assembled in the theatre represented a " Union " party, in the sense that its members were no longer to be considered as Whigs, Democrats, Republicans, or abolitionists. He closed by demanding that every effort be expended to " exterminate and extinguish " slavery.[25]

[23] New York *Independent*, July 7, 1864, prints Phillips's letter in which he makes this claim. Frank B. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1866), p. 168.

[24] John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), IX, 65; Noah Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 724.

[25] There was a story current at the time that Lincoln had offered to make

The Methodist minister, the Reverend J. McKendree Reiley, who gave the invocation after Breckinridge had finished, shocked many of the devout delegates when he interrupted the Lord's Prayer to interpolate, " Grant, O Lord, that the ticket here to be nominated may command a majority of the suffrages of the American people." [26]

At the evening session ex-Governor William Dennison of Ohio became the permanent presiding officer.[27] His brief address to the delegates reflected much of the sentiment expressed in earlier speeches. He emphasized once again that the old party lines were now obliterated by the formation of the Union party; he called for a vigorous prosecution of the war and for the assembly to " declare the cause and the support of the rebellion to be slavery, which, as well for its treasonable offenses against the Government as for its incompatibility with the rights of humanity and the permanent peace of the country, must, with the termination of the war, and as much speedier as possible, be made to cease forever in every State and Territory of the Union." Like his predecessor, Breckinridge, he took it for granted in his speech that Lincoln would be renominated.

With the important keynote speeches having been concluded and the permanent organization having been erected, the convention busied itself with three remaining tasks: the settlement of the status of some contested delegations, the adoption of a platform, and the nomination of a vice-presidential candidate.

The report of the Committee on Credentials, which was presented by Preston King of New York, provoked some discussion. No question was raised in regard to the admission of those delegations from the northern states or the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Delaware. There were delegations present, however, from the freshly reconstructed states of Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

Breckinridge the vice-presidential nominee but that he had refused because he was a clergyman. There is no evidence to prove this, however. As part of his election strategy to compliment Breckinridge and also to show the truly national character of his Union party, Lincoln proposed the Kentuckian be given the temporary chairmanship. George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[26] Andrew White, *op. cit.*, I, 118.

[27] Albert Riddle suggested to Lincoln that it would be an excellent idea to have a prominent friend of Chase selected to be presiding officer. Lincoln's managers agreed to this proposal and after a little correspondence Dennison was placed in line for the position. See, Albert G. Riddle, *Recollections of War Times* (New York, 1895), p. 277.

Most of these men were known to be conservative so that opposition from the radical clique was inevitable, but more than that there was much opposition from the New England delegates who were backing Hannibal Hamlin for renomination and knew that he would get little support from these southern states.[28] The assembly voted to admit the delegates from Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas with all the privileges of the floor. Many in the crowded theatre nodded approvingly when the Tennesseans were admitted by a vote of 310 to 151; it was regarded by them as a marked indication of the preference for Andrew Johnson for the vice-presidency.[29] The delegates from Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada were also admitted with voting privileges. Those from Virginia, Florida, and the territories were admitted without the right to vote, and the delegates from South Carolina were barred from the convention entirely.

Some discussion was engendered by the fact that Missouri had sent two delegations to the convention. In that state a Republican convention was held at St. Louis on May 18th pursuant to a call issued by Frank Blair and Samuel Glover. The delegates who had been chosen to attend the Baltimore convention had been instructed to vote for Lincoln. On May 29th the radical faction met at Jefferson City and decided to send a delegation to Baltimore instructed to vote for General Grant.[30] The Committee on Credentials after considering the matter thoroughly recommended that " those styling themselves the Radical Union Delegation be awarded the seats." Amid tumultous applause and shouting the assembly voted in favor of seating the Radical delegation 440 to 4; this move was regarded as a notice served upon Lincoln that his party would no longer tolerate the Blair influence and the " border state " policy.[31]

Though many Radicals gloated over the belief that the seating of the Radical delegates from Missouri was a word of warning spoken by the convention against the President's policies, it was

[28] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 53.

[29] Noah Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 724; James W. Patton *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934), pp. 45-46.

[30] Sceva B. Laughlin, " Missouri Politics During the Civil War," *The Missouri Historical Review*, XXIV (January, 1930), 265-266; H. C. McDougal, " A Decade of Missouri Politics 1860-1870—From a Republican Viewpoint," *The Missouri Historical Review*, III (January, 1909), 141-142.

[31] *Harper's Weekly*, June 25, 1864; William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (New York, 1933), II, 266-267.

Lincoln himself who had actually recommended their admission. On June 5th, Lincoln's secretary, John Nicolay, who was present at the convention, reported to the chief executive that the Radical delegates from Missouri had intimated to Burton C. Cook, chairman of the Illinois delegation, that they would vote for Lincoln if promised seats in the convention. He inquired whether or not it would be permissible to admit them.[32] Lincoln apparently indicated to Nicolay that they should be. The following day the Illinois delegation was gathered at Barnum's City Hotel to discuss the Missouri situation; all except chairman Cook favored the admission of the conservative delegation for if this were done Lincoln would have the honor of being nominated by acclamation. Before the delegates could take a vote, a young man who had been seated unobtrusively in the corner asked if he might say a few words. After reiterating several times that he was expressing his own opinion, he maintained that it would be preferable to admit the Radical delegation. The assembly knew that the young man was John Nicolay, and although he declared most emphatically that he was speaking his own mind, most of the Illinois delegates soon realized that he was actually acting as Lincoln's mouthpiece. Without hesitation they voted to admit the Radicals and the rest of the delegations followed the lead of Lincoln's own state.[33]

The admission of the Missouri Radical delegation through Lincoln's indirect instructions was not prompted by the assurances that they would vote for him. There would have been no need of yielding to them for the sake of the twenty-two votes; Lincoln already had a clear majority from the other states, and had he wished a unanimous vote he could have advised the admission of the conservative delegates who were already pledged to him. The President saw the necessity of uniting all the elements of the party. He wished to give the Radical clique no further excuse for later claiming that the convention had been closed to them and that the party was merely his tool. By admitting them to the deliberations he bound them to accept the action which the convention took and deprived them of any excuse for casting their lot with Frémont's Radical Democracy.[34] There is no evidence to indi-

[32] John Nicolay to John Hay, June 5, 1864, quoted in John Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Harrogate, Tenn., n. d.), X, 114-115.

[33] Clark E. Carr, "Why Lincoln was Not Re-nominated by Acclamation," *The Century Ilustrated Monthly Magazine*, LXII (February, 1907), 504-505.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.

cate that the President ever believed the Radicals' pledge to Nicolay that they would vote for him if admitted. He probably realized they would vote for Grant, but for the sake of party solidarity he could easily forego the honor of being nominated by acclamation.

Henry Raymond, as chairman of the platform committee, reported the following eleven planks to the assembly for its consideration:

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the Rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the Rebels and traitors arrayed against it.
2. *Resolved*, That we aprove the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with Rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.
3. *Resolved*, That as Slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic—and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.
4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and

honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principle of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery, and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.
6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.
7. *Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the Rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.
8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration which in part has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power of this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.,
9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the Railroad to the Pacific coast.
10. *Resolved*, That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency.
11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European Power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any Republican Government of the Western Continent and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for Monarchial

> Governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.[35]

The third resolution in favor of a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery was the outgrowth of an earlier suggestion by Lincoln that such a plank should be included in the platform.[36] The sixth resolutions was also of considerable importance; like the admission of the Missouri Radicals it was an attempt to placate the members of that branch of the party. The person or persons against whom the resolution was directed remained a matter for conjecture. The suggestion of reorganizing the cabinet would naturally provoke much speculation for nearly every member of that group had at one time or another incurred the wrath of some faction which had clamored for his removal. It was generally felt that the resolution was aimed specifically at Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster General, whose trenchant denunciations of the Radicals had made him absolutely persona non grata to them.[37] The reference may have also been directed against the other conservative members of the cabinet, Gideon Welles and Edward Bates.[38] Welles insisted that though public opinion believed the resolution was directed at Blair it was actually aimed at William Seward.[39] The eleventh resolution was regarded as a compromise. The Radicals had wished to make it another censure upon Lincoln and Seward; but the conservatives had assumed that the President and his cabinet were in accord and headed the resolution to the affect that they approved the decision " taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt to supplant by fraud the institutions of any Republican Government of the Western Continent." [40]

A resolution which was conspicuously missing from the platform was one favoring the confiscation of Confederate property. This idea had been urged most emphatically before Congress by Representative George Julian of Indiana, and it had found its way into the platform of the Radical Democracy at Cleveland, although

[35] Edward McPherson, *A Political History of the United States of America during the Great Rebellion* (Washington, 1865), pp. 406-407.

[36] Wendell P. Garrison and Francis J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879* (London, 1889), IV, 113, 117. Garrison said the third resolution was received with the most cheering.

[37] John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, IX, 70.

[38] William E. Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 267.

[39] Gideon Welles, *op. cit.*, II, 174. Entry of October 7, 1864.

[40] John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, IX, 71.

it was repudiated by Frémont in his letter of acceptance. The National Grand Council of the Union League of America which had met the day before the convention also adopted a resolution favoring such a course. At the party's national convention the question had been presented before the sub-committee which was working on the resolutions, and it had originally reported favorably on including such a plank. In the full committee, however, the resolution encountered such opposition from the conservatives led by McKee Dunn of Indiana that it was ultimately rejected.[41]

The following day the convention was ready to proceed with the business of picking the candidates. Lincoln's renomination was already a certainty, but it was not accomplished without considerable delay, irregularities in procedure, and drama. The Radicals made one last attempt to voice their dissatisfaction and Lincoln's friends confusedly vied with each other for the honor of presenting his name. According to Noah Brooks some of the delegates literally flew at each other's throats in their anxiety to have the honor of nominating Lincoln. The most important claimants for this signal honor were political boss Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Governor William Stone of Iowa, Burton C. Cook of Illinois, and Lincoln's old friend from Springfield, Thompson Campbell. Campbell had been accepted in advance as the man who was to present Lincoln's name, but before he could take the floor, Cameron sent up to the clerk a written resolution which was to be read. When the document was read to the assembly it was discovered that it was a resolution demanding the renomination of Lincoln and Hamlin. For the next few moments pandemonium reigned as the delegates sent up loud huzzahs for their heroes while others shouted with rage at Cameron for having stolen a march on them.

Henry Raymond advocated making nominations by a call of states and that they should be made without noisy acclamation. Cook, not to be left out entirely from the proceedings, mounted upon a settee and cried, " Illinois once more presents to the nation the name of Abraham Lincoln—God bless him! " There was much shouting as Governor Stone succeeded in getting his share

[41] Grace J. Clarke, *George W. Julian* (Indianapolis, 1923), p. 257. One of Lincoln's correspondents told him that there was a plan afoot to claim that he had blocked a confiscation act and was, therefore, responsible for the high taxes in the North. The plank in the Cleveland platform was supposed to have been the first step in this plan. S. Holtslander to Abraham Lincoln, June 10, 1864, Robert T. Lincoln MSS, Library of Congress.

of the glory by seconding the motion. By this time, however, it was apparent that some of the din was being raised by those who disapproved of Lincoln's renomination. The Iowa governor hesitated for a moment in the confusion; Chairman Dennison seemed to lose his head, and then it was Lincoln's emissary, Senator James Lane of Kansas, who met the situation by shouting above the noise in his stentorian voice, " Stand your ground, Stone! Stand your ground! Great God, Stone, Kansas will stand by you! " [42] Within a few moments the crisis was passed and the turmoil subsided; only Campbell was still on his feet shouting and gesticulating, beside himself with anger at having been cheated out of his honor.[43]

The roll-call of states began and each cast a unanimous ballot for Lincoln. All proceeded well until the clerk reached Missouri; John F. Hume rose and cast the twenty-two votes of his state for Grant. The reaction to this move was instantaneous. " Such a storm of disapproval was never started in any convention that I ever attended," wrote one of the delegates in the Missouri contingent, " Delegates and lookers-on howled and howled. I can remember how I felt. I think my hair stood right up on end. After Hume announced the vote he sat down, and there we were, as solemn and determined as men could look, with the mob all around us demanding that the vote should be changed. I hadn't any doubt for a few moments but what we would be picked up, every man of us, and thrown out into the streets." [44] When the clerk announced the result of the roll-call, Hume arose again and moved that the nomination be declared unanimous. Lincoln was declared to have 506 votes and was duly nominated. The delegates went again into paroxysms of delight; flags were waved, the air was filled with flying hats and the brass band added to the din with a lively rendition of " Yankee Doodle." It was a long time before order was restored for the delegates continued to emit sporadic outbursts of what the administration press termed " hearty " and " spontaneous " cheering for their champion.[45]

When the celebration had subsided the convention turned its attention to the last remaining task—the selection of Lincoln's

[42] John Speer, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-284.
[43] Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1896), p. 154.
[44] Walter Stevens, " Lincoln and Missouri," *The Missouri Historical Review*, X (January, 1916), 110-11.
[45] Albany *Evening Journal*, June 9, 1864.

running mate. To fill this position there were many available choices, including Hannibal Hamlin, Andrew Johnson, Daniel S. Dickinson, and Joseph Holt. Circumstances seemed to dictate the selection of a war-Democrat such as Johnson or Dickinson; this move was calculated to win more votes, to prove conclusively that party lines had really been obliterated in the newly organized Union party, and to make a favorable impression abroad by having a candidate from one of the reconstructed states.[46]

Lincoln had made some overtures to Benjamin F. Butler earlier in the year in an attempt to get him on the ticket, but he had refused. At the same moment, however, Lincoln sent General Daniel E. Sickles to Nashville, Tennessee to investigate Johnson as a possible alternate choice. The Tennessean was a life-long Democrat, and a border state man. He was a staunch supporter of the Union and a friend of labor. The only black mark against him was the frequent charge of tyranny which had been raised against his administration in Tennessee, but Sickles reported that it was not true.[47] Lincoln decided to have the former tailor on the ballot with himself, and the machinery was set in motion to secure this objective. So certain did Johnson's chances seem to become that in March a dispatch from Nashville reported that his friends were confident he was to be nominated.[48]

Lincoln began to make his preference known to a few select friends. Probably Simon Cameron was the first to hear of the President's wishes; Cameron promised to attend the convention as a delegate from Pennsylvania and to bring that state into Johnson's favor. Abram Dittenhoefer, who visited Lincoln about ten days prior to the convention, later insisted the President told him he wanted Johnson.[49] On June 6th, another friend, S. Newton Pettis, came to see Lincoln and in reply to the query as to whom he wished as his running-mate, Lincoln was reputed to have said, "Governor Johnson of Tennessee."[50]

[46] Alexander K. McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* (New York, 1900), pp. 194-185; Harold Dudley, "The Election of 1864," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (March, 1932), 509.

[47] Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson: Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1929), pp. 253-254.

[48] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, April 9, 1864; J. H. Mayburne to Lyman Trumbull, January 20, 1864, Lyman Trumbull MSS, Library of Congress.

[49] Abram Dittenhoefer, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[50] S. N. Pettis to Alexander McClure, July 20, 1891, quoted in Alexander McClure, *Lincoln and Men*, pp. 438-439.

As part of his plan to secure Johnson's nomination the President requested Alexander McClure to become a delegate-at-large from Pennsylvania instead of simply a delegate from his congressional district. This was done. Less than a week before the convention Lincoln asked him to vote for Johnson. McClure was somewhat surprised but agreed to do so. The President did not tell him he had already spoken to Cameron on this matter, and so both men went to the convention without knowing that they were working for the same objective.[51]

About the same time Lincoln also revealed his preference to two other friends, Ward Lamon and Leonard Swett. The latter did not approve of the President's choice and protested: " Lincoln, if it were known in New England that you are in favor of leaving Hamlin off the ticket it would raise the devil among the Yankees. . . ." [52] Finally he yielded to Lincoln's persuasion and consented to go to Baltimore as a member of the Illinois delegation and to work for Johnson. He asked Lincoln if it were permissible to tell the delegates that he desired to have Johnson on the ticket. Lincoln said it was not, but added, " I will address a letter to Lamon here embodying my views which you and McClure and other friends may use if it be found absolutely necessary; otherwise it may be better that I shall not appear actively on the stage of this theatre. . . ." [53] Before the convention met Lincoln also imparted the same information to William Seward, Henry Raymond, editor of the New York *Times*, and perhaps even to James Lane.[54]

At the convention Simon Cameron sought out McClure and declared that he did not believe Hamlin could be elected. McClure, of course, agreed. Cameron then suggested that Pennsylvania should cast a unanimous vote for Hamlin during the roll-call, but should change to a unanimous vote for Johnson when the call was completed. McClure was elated over this suggestion; both men were probably amazed at the ease with which they persuaded each other to support Johnson, neither knowing that Lincoln had enlisted both their services to secure this objective. After agree-

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-117; Alexander McClure, *Lincoln as a Politician* (Putnam, Conn., 1916), pp. 18-19.

[52] Ward Lamon to Alexander McClure, August 16, 1891, quoted in Alexander McClure, *Lincoln and Men*, p. 446.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[54] John Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

ing on this matter they worked among the members of the Pennsylvania delegation to put over the plan. All consented except Thad Stevens, who asked, "Can't you find a candidate for Vice-President without going down into a d--d rebel province?" [55] At the convention Cameron showed his shrewdness. He did not want the responsibility for having defeated Hamlin nor did he desire the President to be blamed. He moved that Lincoln and Hamlin be renominated by acclamation. When objections were raised this resolution was tabled, as Cameron had expected it to be.[56]

There was also the New York delegation to be considered for there was much support being given to her native son, Daniel S. Dickinson. The Radicals led by Lyman Tremaine wanted him. Before the convention Chauncey Depew and W. H. Robertson called on Seward who told them that a war-Democrat would have to be nominated. He suggested Johnson and said to them, "You can quote me to the delegates, and they will believe I express the opinion of the President. While the President wishes to take no part in the nomination for vice-President, yet he favors Mr. Johnson." [57] At the first informal meeting of the New York delegation a ballot was taken which gave Hamlin 20 votes, Dickinson 16, Tremaine 6, and Johnson 8. The caucus adjourned and Dickinson's friends began to solicit the other delegations in an effort to have their man selected. Weed and Raymond worked to prevent this for they knew that it was essentially a movement designed to force Seward out of the cabinet. They realized that if a New Yorker became the Vice-President the possession of the secretaryship of state by another from that state was impossible. Weed and Raymond had helped engineer the admission of the delegations from Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas in return for a promise to oppose Dickinson.[58] Every effort was now put forth to smash the Dickinson movement.

At the second meeting of the New York delegation, Tremaine

[55] Alexander McClure, *Our Presidents*, p. 186.

[56] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Cameron kept his intentions so well hidden that after the convention one of Johnson's friends wrote to tell him that Cameron had opposed his selection, when actually it was Cameron who had done much to secure his choice. J. B. Bingham to Andrew Johnson, June 26, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

[57] Chauncey Depew, *My Memories of Eighty Years* (New York, 1922), pp. 60-61.

[58] Glyndon Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby* (Boston, 1947), pp. 307-308.

delivered an address, and while he was speaking the Weed-Seward men polled the members and found they still controlled a majority. Raymond was about to suggest that Hamlin should be supported by New York when he learned that Massachusetts would not have him.[59] Senator Charles Sumner was alleged to have decided to defeat both Seward and his senatorial enemy, William Fessenden of Maine. Sumner supported Dickinson because he felt that if the Vice-President came from New York, Seward would no longer be able to hold the cabinet post; and if Hamlin returned to Maine he would probably defeat Fessenden for the senatorial seat.[60] Raymond used his influence for Johnson during the final vote of the New York delegation. It resulted in Johnson getting 32 votes, Dickinson 28, and Hamlin 6; it was agreed that this would be announced at the convention as the vote of New York.[61]

Lot M. Morrill, who was acting as Hamlin's campaign manager, did not realize that his man was to be beaten.[62] Cameron was supposed to have "delivered" Pennsylvania, but as has been seen, this vote was to be switched to Johnson at the end of the roll-call. New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin were also considered in Hamlin's column. Illinois was also informally supporting him so as "not to commit Mr. Lincoln," while Iowa gave him half her vote. Massachusetts was also considered in his favor.[63] The day before the convention opened, Ward Lamon wired to Lincoln that Hamlin was unquestionably ahead, and probably on the same day Nicolay sent word to Hay that Hamlin seemed to be the man; Dickinson and Johnson were, in his opinion, without backers.[64]

The Illinois delegation was undecided which way to jump. Many men had approached Nicolay in an effort to learn whether the President had given him some instructions on the Vice-Presidential matter as he had in the case of the Missouri Radicals. The secretary could only reply that as far as he knew Lincoln was

[59] Charles E. Hamlin, *The Life and Time of Hannibal Hamlin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1899), p. 481.
[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 464-469, 480.
[61] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48; DeAlva Stanwood Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (New York, 1909), III, 94.
[62] Charles E. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 481.
[63] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
[64] Ward Lamon to Abraham Lincoln, June 7, 1864, Robert Todd Lincoln MSS; John Nicolay to John Hay, June (?), 1864, quoted in Helen Nicolay, *Lincoln's Secretary* (New York, 1949), pp. 207-208.

not committing himself to anyone.[65] Ward Lamon was standing beside Nicolay at the time with Lincoln's letter on Johnson in his pocket, but he said nothing.[66] Leonard Swett, who was a member of the Illinois delegation and also knew that Lincoln wanted Johnson, sought to protect Lincoln by declaring himself in favor of Joseph Holt, a war-Democrat from Kentucky.[67] Burton Cook turned toward Swett and eyed him doubtfully; he suspected that Lincoln's old friend was doubledealing and he asked Nicolay to inquire confidentially of Lincoln whether Swett was to be trusted. Lincoln's assurances that Swett was all right failed to convince him, and he hurried to Washington for a personal interview. Lincoln reassured him, and Cook left the capital convinced that the President hoped to see Hamlin chosen.[68]

On the first ballot taken June 8th, Johnson polled 200 votes, Dickinson 108, and Hamlin 150 with the remainder scattered among several minor choices. At a critical moment in the balloting Horace Maynard of Tennessee arose and delivered a rousing speech in favor of Johnson. According to Burton Cook and Theodore Tilton of the New York *Independent* this speech did more than anything else to sway the delegates toward the Tennessean.[69] Governor Stone also jumped to his feet when the clerk called for the Iowa vote and cast her sixteen votes for Johnson. In doing this he completely disregarded the delegation spokesman, Daniel D. Chase, and also the fact that the majority of the delegates were opposed to Johnson. Before Chase could get the floor to denounce Stone's move, Kentucky announced the change of her vote to Johnson and the irresistible tide had begun.[70] As state after state swung over to Johnson it became apparent that nothing could check the torrent; Lyman Tremaine of New York moved that his selection be made unanimous, and it was so done.

Lincoln had realized his goal; Johnson was to be his running-mate. McClure, Cameron, Swett, Lamon, and Raymond had done their work well. Raymond's biographer gave him most of the credit for having maneuvered matters so that Johnson's name was

[65] John Nicolay to Charles Hamlin, March 3, 1897, quoted in Charles E. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 471. Nicolay insisted Lincoln preferred Hamlin.
[66] Alexander McClure, *Lincoln as a Politician*, p. 20.
[67] Alexander McClure, *Lincoln and Men*, p. 109.
[68] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45; John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, IX, 72-73.
[69] Charles E. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-472, 476.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 477-479.

presented at the right moment.[71] Gurowski reported a current rumor in Washington that Raymond had been the real master mover at the convention and was to be rewarded for his services with the French legation.[72] Most of the blame, however, fell upon men who were not guilty. Seward was accused of having defeated Hamlin for renomination, while Gideon Welles, who bore no great affection for Hamlin, was also accused of having engineered his overthrow.[73] Connecticut cast her twelve votes for Johnson, and it was for that reason Welles was accused of being the prime mover of the anti-Hamlin crusade. The secretary of the navy insisted, however, that Hamlin's friends were ascribing to him " influence which [he did] not possess and . . . revenge or malevolence [he] never felt." [74]

As for Lincoln he was greatly pleased by the selection. Judge Pettis, who was with him ten minutes after the news of the nomination had been flashed to Washington, reported that he expressed great satisfaction at the selection.[75] Among the Republicans who had opposed the President the reaction to Johnson's selection was varied. George Luther Stearns wrote that Johnson's presence on the ballot would reconcile him to accepting Lincoln.[76] James Blaine, who came from Hamlin's own state and might consequently have been disappointed at the choice, said that he felt Johnson's nomination had added additional strength to the ticket.[77] George Julian, on the other hand, voiced the feeling of many when he said that Johnson was a poor choice because " he did not reside in the United States " and did not subscribe to the principles embodied in the platform.[78]

All that remained for the delegates to do was to communicate the results of the convention officially to the chief executive. A committee headed by Governor Dennison came on June 9th to inform him of his nomination. A formal notification written by

[71] Augustus Maverick, *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press* (Hartford, Conn,. 1870), p. 168; Don C. Seitz, *Lincoln the Politician* (New York, 1931), pp. 422-423.

[72] Adam Gurowski, *op. cit.*, III, 254. Entry of June 10, 1864.

[73] *Ibid.*, III, 254. Entry of June 11, 1864.

[74] Gideon Welles, *op. cit.*, II, 47. Entries of June 8-9, 1864.

[75] S. N. Pettis to Andrew Johnson, June 10, 1864; George Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, June 11, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

[76] George Stearns to Andrew Johnson, June 9, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

[77] James Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 522.

[78] Grace C. Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 258; George Julian, *Political Recollections, 1840-1872* (Chicago, 1884), p. 243.

George William Curtis was sent on June 14th. The President replied in a brief letter and stated that he " heartily approved " the platform adopted by the convention.[79]

The entire convention had aroused little attention; the public mind had been prepared for the results by the previous action of the legislatures and the local conventions and mass meetings.[80] " Except for the nomination of Vice-President, the whole proceedings were a matter of course," wrote Welles, while Lincoln's secretary Hay noted in his diary that it had been a quiet affair. " Little drinking—little quarreling—an earnest intention to simply register the expressed will of the people and go home," he insisted.[81] Gurowski, on the other hand, saw the convention in a different light. He wrote:

> It would be interesting to make analytical statistics of the Baltimore Convention. Then it would be found out how many officeholders, postmasters, contractors, lobbyists, expectants, pap-editors, composed it. Then find out how many bargains were made in advance, how many promissory notes were delivered, and similar facts, and the true character of that convention would be understood.[82]

Though the selection had been unanimous and the cheering loud and allegedly spontaneous, there were some who detected that beneath the surface were smoldering embers of discontent among the Radicals. Edward Bates was wary of these portents and confessed the results of the convention both surprised and mortified him. He claimed the renomination of Lincoln had been carried out in " a manner and with attendant circumstances, as if the object were to defeat their own nomination. They were all (nearly) instructed to vote for Mr. Lincoln, but many of them hated to do it, and ' only kept the word of promise to the ear ' doing their worst to break it to the hope." [83] Word reached Andrew Johnson that such men as Henry Davis, Thad Stevens, and Representative Henry Blow of Missouri were dissatisfied with the ticket and desired its defeat.[84] It was apparent, perhaps, that there were still dangerous shoals and breakers ahead.

[79] It is difficult to agree with Sumner who called the letter of acceptance " the best he ever wrote." Charles Sumner, *Works* (Boston, 1894), IX, 127.

[80] Frank B. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[81] Gideon Welles,, *op. cit.*, II, 47. Entry of June 9, 1864; Tyler Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Entry of June 6, 1864.

[82] Adam Gurowski, *op. cit.*, III, 243. Entry of June 10, 1864.

[83] Howard K. Beale (ed.), *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, 1933), pp. 374-375. Entry of June 10, 1864.

[84] J. B. Bingham to Andrew Johnson, June 26, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

The convention had hardly adjourned when a movement was underway, propelled primarily by the depressing military news from Virginia, to remove Lincoln from the nomination and to call another convention. Bates was correct; on the horizon of the sunny sky a small cloud was gathering which was soon to grow to menacing proportions. There was danger that some of the dissatisfied might yet achieve their desire to replace Lincoln with a radical candidate. The party was moving into the hands of the Radicals; they had been forced by the pressure of public opinion and the office holders to accept a candidate whom they did not desire. They were determined, however, to push their radical program of reconstruction to its completion and did so after Lincoln's untimely death.

THE BALTIMORE PUBLIC BATHS AND THEIR FOUNDER, THE REV. THOMAS M. BEADENKOPF

By Anne Beadenkopf

IT is difficult today for the person of average means to visualize the scope of the function of the Baltimore Public Baths. Most of our homes contain a minimum of one bath, while the traveler almost invariably demands a bath with his room in a hotel. It does not occur to us that there are thousands of people of limited means to whom the free public baths are the only source of bodily cleanliness. At the turn of the last century, when only the well-to-do could afford private baths, the need for public bathing facilities, in order to maintain an adequate standard of public health, was far greater. Among the few who saw the dangers in a crowded city arising from poor bathing facilities and who were willing to undertake the task of organizing public opinion was the Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf. He led the vanguard in the civic movement which culminated in the establishment of the Public Baths of Baltimore over a half century ago.

Born in 1855, Thomas M. Beadenkopf was the eighth child of Martin and Emmaline Beadenkopf. As one of a family of ten, he was accustomed from an early age to assume responsibility, for he and his brothers supplemented the family income by "serving" a *Sun* paper route which required them to be on the job at four in the morning. In academic pursuits Thomas M. Beadenkopf was a bright, studious boy and excelled in all his studies, graduating from Baltimore City College in 1871, two days after his sixteenth birthday. For the highest scholastic average, he was awarded the Peabody Prize of $100. Desiring more education and realizing he could obtain a four-year scholarship to Johns Hopkins University, he worked at odd jobs to earn enough money to enable him to pursue his studies. At Johns Hopkins he majored in lan-

guages and mathematics. He was graduated from the University in 1880, where he was very popular and made many friends, among whom was the late President Woodrow Wilson. A charter member of the Alpha Chi Chapter, Beta Theta Pi, he was also a member of the City Club of Baltimore.

His eldest brother, William, a successful business man of Wilmington, Delaware, offered him a position in his leather factory, with the promise that he would ultimately be made a member of the firm. But Thomas, with his agile, retentive and highly imaginative mind, combined with his clear speech, felt called to the ministry, and entered the Boston School of Theology where he remained for two years. From there he went to Yale University for three years, obtaining his Divinity Degree in 1885. While at Yale University, along with many struggling students, he earned his board and room working as a waiter.

His first pastorate was in North Waterford, Maine, where he successfully served in the Congregational Church for five years. In 1891 he accepted the pastorate of the Canton Congregational Church, Baltimore, Maryland. Knowing well the needs, both spiritual and economic, in this locality, he labored most earnestly for his people for fourteen years. Always having the welfare and uplift of the poorer classes at heart, he established numerous night classes in the rear rooms of his church, thus giving many poor boys an opportunity for an education that would otherwise have been denied them. Quite a few of them entered the ministry and others followed Mr. Beadenkopf's example in giving special training to boys.[1]

Prior to 1893, while calling on his parishioners, he learned of the inadequate bathing facilities in their small homes, for very few of these houses had a bathroom. Realizing the advantage of providing recreational facilities for boys in this congested neighborhood, Mr. Beadenkopf asked himself, " Why not start a public bathing beach here such as they have in other countries? " [2] This was the beginning of the Public Baths in Baltimore, inaugurated by a man determined to give every boy a chance.[3]

[1] Edgar Goodman, " Necrology," *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, IV (January, 1916), 163-165.

[2] Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909, p. 15. This issue of the *Sun* contained a feature article on the work of the Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf which the author found extremely helpful.

[3] *Ibid.*

Canton had a fine waterfront, but it was all private property, and the boys who ventured to use it for bathing purposes took long chances of being haled into the station house by a policeman or private watchman, for the watchmen and policemen were very vigilant. He tried to enlist the cooperation of influential members of the locality for help. A few contributed small amounts, but many laughed at him. Regardless of all discouragement, however, he approached Walter B. Brooks, President of the Canton Company, begging the use of an abandoned wharf on the Canton Waterfront for his proposed bathing beach. Immediately after obtaining the use of the abandoned wharf, he wrote Mayor Latrobe asking permission to open a public bathing beach.[4] Then he erected a few crude cabins as bath houses, installed shower baths, and hired an old man, a native of Canton nicknamed "Daddy Lyons" as guard to protect the boys from drowning and police interference.[5] The expenses were met with funds he had collected from the few interested neighbors, and money he contributed from his own limited means. These primitive facilities represented the first public bathing system in Baltimore. The Canton Beach was opened to the public on July 29, 1893, with a full equipment of ropes, floats, and suits.[6] Little handbills were distributed in advance announcing the opening of "Baltimore's First Bathing Beach."[7] At the end of the summer it was very evident that the Founder's idea was a huge success for the 1500 to 1600 bathers who participated.

But Thomas M. Beadenkopf was only partly satisfied, he wanted to enlarge his plans. He discussed the subject with his brother, George, an executive of The Consolidated Gas Company of Baltimore City. His brother suggested that he enlist the help of some prominent men in the city. Among those approached were Eugene Levering, William H. Morriss, Secretary of the YMCA, and Dr. James Carey Thomas. These men were very enthusiastic, for they saw the strong points of his idea when it was presented to them. They knew that public baths were popular in the Old World and were aware that Free Public Baths had been open in New York since 1891, the first in this country, and since then many had been opened in other cities.[8]

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *A Historical Sketch of the Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, Maryland, 1900-1925* (Balto., 1925), p. 28.
[6] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909, p. 15. [7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*

Since "Baltimore's First Bathing Beach at Canton" had been successfully demonstrated, early in 1894 this group of public spirited men decided to approach the city officials and urge them to take action for the establishment of permanent public baths.

Canton Bathing Beach!

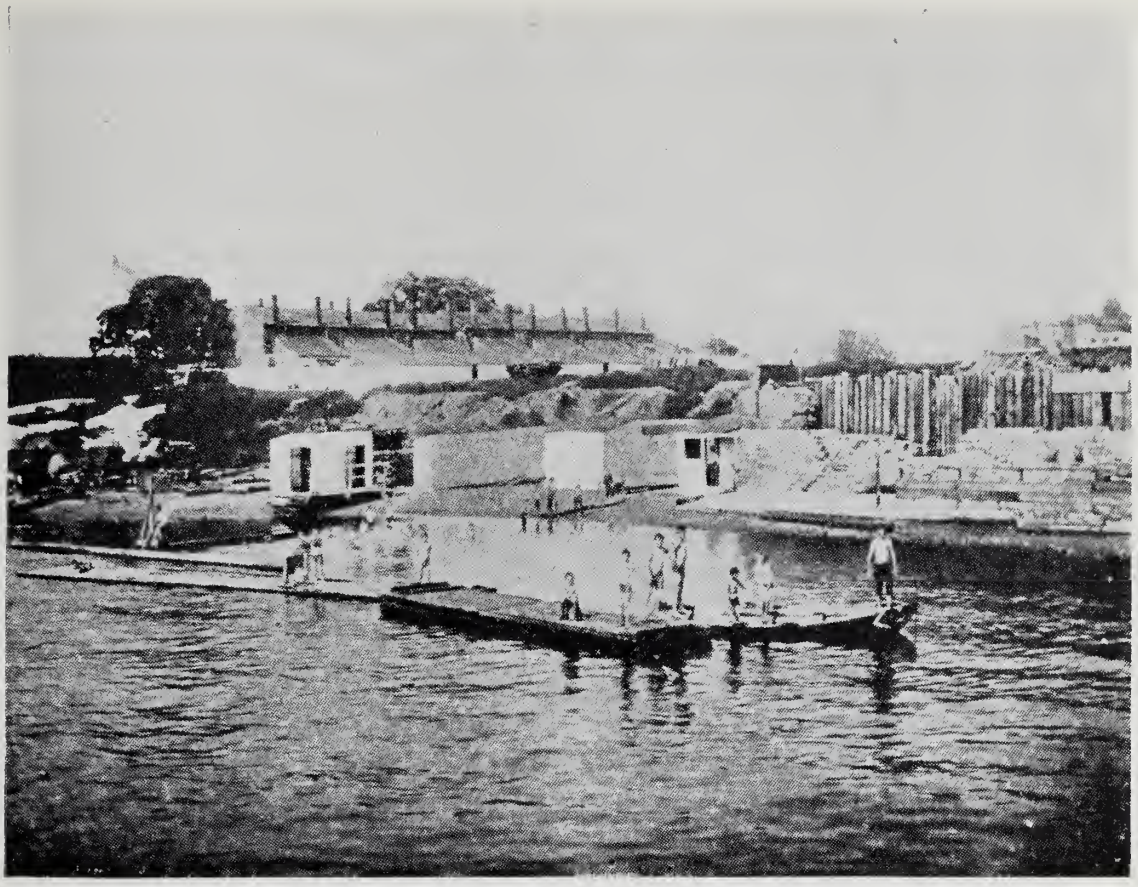
West End of 2nd Ave.

This Beach has been cleared of rocks, and partly covered with pebbles, making a good bottom.

No charge will be made to bathers who bring their own suits; to others suits will be furnished at 10 cents for half-hour.

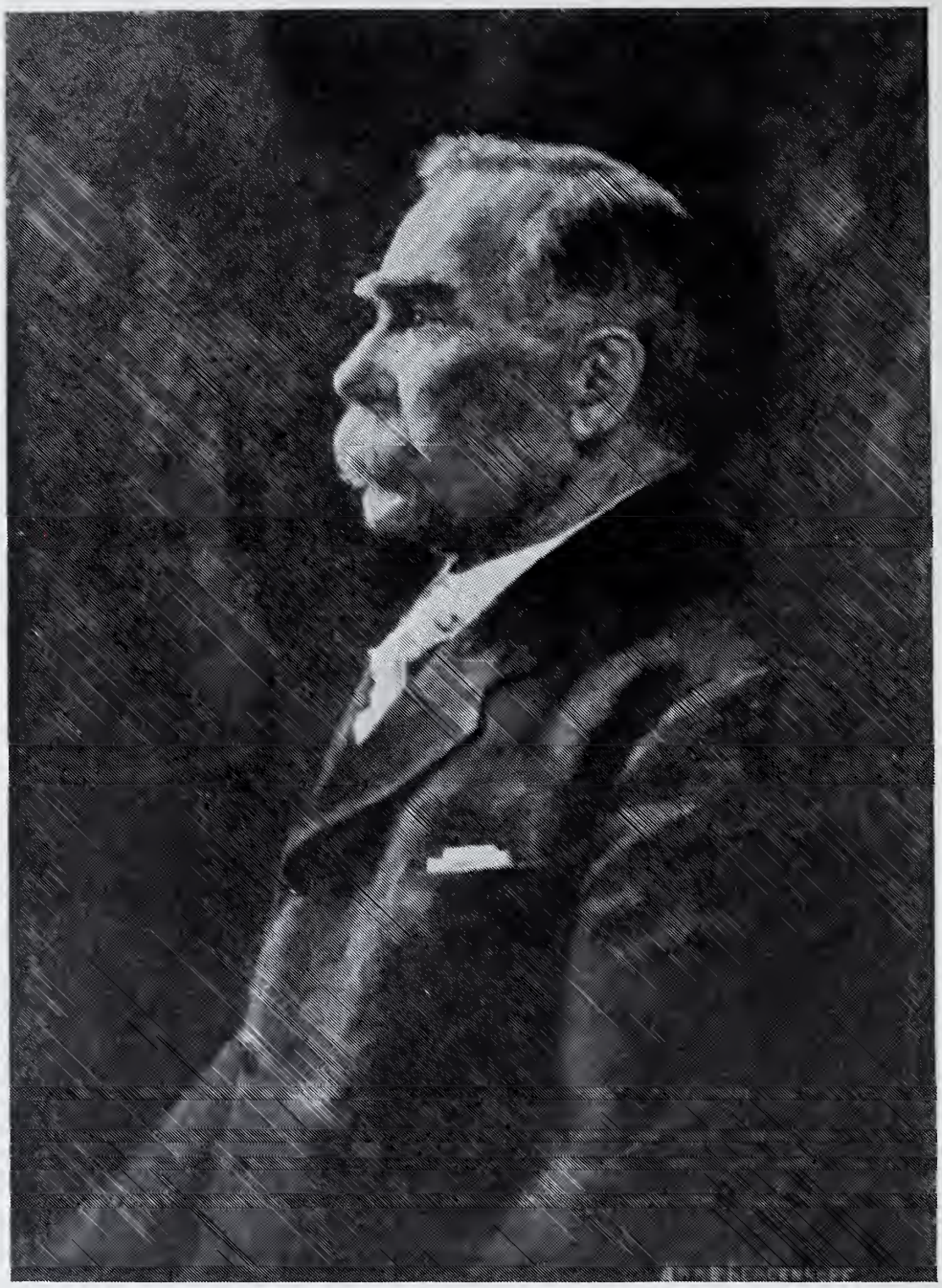
Will Open on Saturday, July 29th, 1893

The city officially decided to give support to Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf's idea, and at Mayor Latrobe's suggestion a Bath Commission was created, composed of the following persons: Eugene Levering, President, Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf, Secretary, and Dr. James Carey Thomas, and the presidents of the First and



BALTIMORE'S FIRST BATHING BEACH, CANTON, 1893

PORTABLE BATH HOUSE USED IN BALTIMORE, 1907



THE REVEREND THOMAS M. BEADENKOPF

1855-1915

Second Branches of the City Council were made members. An appropriation of $500 was granted, and three bathing beaches were established at Canton, Winans Beach, and Gwynns Falls. During the summer 23,787 bathers patronized the beaches.[9]

Desiring to see the European Baths in operation, the Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf decided that he would make a bicycle tour through parts of Europe during 1895. He wanted especially to see the German baths in operation. When he told his brother William about his proposed bicycle trip, his brother was greatly interested and insisted upon financing the trip if Thomas would look up their father's relatives in Germany. He agreed and obtained a second class berth on a large steamer bound for Europe, and, taking his bicycle, was determined to make the trip as economical as possible, using his brother's money only while actually in Germany seeking information regarding their father's relatives.

England was his first landing place. He rode through the rugged countryside of England and into Wales stopping there awhile to see the relatives of his many Welsh parishioners of Canton Congregational Church. The Welsh people responded to his visit and presented him with a small handsome walnut secretary to commemorate his visit. He left Wales for France, Switzerland, and finally Germany. In the meantime, he wrote interesting accounts of his travels for the Baltimore Sunpapers as agreed. After inspecting the German baths, he made inquiries regarding his father's relatives and found several cousins, one of whom was a Burgermeister, or Mayor of Lehnheim, Germany. His relatives urged him to remain in Lehnheim; however, he declined and returned to America.

From 1895 to 1898 the summer bathing places were maintained by the annual appropriation of $500 from the city, with the exception of one year, 1896, when no appropriation whatever was granted. The bathing places were sustained wholly by private contributions during this period. The patronage varied from 25,000 to 40,000 bathers a season.[10] The Commission reported in the years 1896, 1897 and 1898 to the city, urging that permanent year-round baths be opened. The cooperation of the Maryland Public Health Association was obtained by the Bath Commission and pressure was immediately applied for city action,

[9] *Free Public Bath Commission*, pp. 3-5.

[10] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909; *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1912*, p. 6.

by both these organizations. The death of Dr. James Carey Thomas at this time made a vacancy in the Commission, which was filled by appointing William H. Morriss, who had been an enthusiastic unofficial worker since 1894.[11]

On November 27, 1898, a public meeting was held at McCoy Hall under the auspices of the Maryland Public Health Association. Mayor Josiah Quincy of Boston, Massachusetts, and others, spoke at this meeting, describing the public baths of other cities. The Baltimore Commission showed views of Baltimore's three outdoor baths which were supported by the city's appropriation of $500. The establishment of year round baths in Baltimore was strongly urged. There was absolutely no financial response on the part of the public, so the Bath Commissioners decided to advertise in the city papers and also to secure editorial endorsement from all the dailies.[12] From December 7 to 10 the following advertisement was published:

PUBLIC BATHS, SHALL BALTIMORE HAVE THEM?

The recent meeting at McCoy Hall at which Mayor Quincy of Boston, Massachusetts, and F. B. Kirkbride of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, showed what is being done in those cities in the matter of public baths aroused great interest. Baltimore's showing was almost grotesque in contrast. The question is, shall Baltimore continue to occupy this position? Boston spends $35,000 annually for public baths; New York, $48,000; Philadelphia, Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, and even Wilmington spend large sums for this purpose. Baltimore appropriates $500 a year toward maintenance of summer baths. Baths open all the year round, equipped with hot and cold water, and accessible to all who are now deprived of these privileges, are a necessity. In some sections of our city, bathrooms are not provided in ninety per cent of homes. The Baltimore Commissioners are ready to open such baths if money is provided. They have secured in cash and pledges about $600, but it will take $2,000 to carry out even the most modest plan. Subscriptions to this fund are earnestly solicited.[13]

Strong editorials in all the city papers supported this announcement.[14] The slogan was, "You see what Boston has; you see what Baltimore *has not*." This, it must be remembered, was before the Plumbing Law, which requires a bathtub in every home, went into effect. Actually at this time, in some places in Baltimore, there were 15 to 20 men and women to one bathroom.

[11] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 5.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[13] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, pp. 6-7.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

A short time after the newspaper campaign the Commission learned that Henry Walters was interested in public baths.[15] Mr. Walters had just returned from Egypt, where he had witnessed much suffering and blindness resulting from filth and squalor in the poorer sections of towns, and it was pointed out to him that these sections were the places where the greatest epidemics started. He promised himself that if in his home town, Baltimore, opportunity should arise to help his neighbors to obtain health and happiness, through cleanliness, he would assuredly make a contribution towards it. His investigations after he returned to Baltimore, disclosed the fact that in the poorer sections, especially in the neighborhoods where the foreign peoples lived, there was room for great improvement in sanitary conditions. In some houses from 100 to 150 persons were congregated without means of keeping clean.[16] Mr. Walters was certainly in a very receptive mood when, shortly after his return to Baltimore, the Bath Commission approached him for a contribution. He was exceedingly interested and asked that detailed information be furnished him as quickly as possible.[17]

In the meantime Thomas M. Beadenkopf, the founder of the Baths, was assigned to go to Boston to get additional facts and to secure the cooperation of experts there.[18] A letter to Henry Walters reporting a study of the baths of Boston, Chicago, and New York, quickly followed. On February 2, 1899, Mr. Walters stated that he was willing to erect three bathhouses in Baltimore, each to be known as "Walters Public Baths." He desired that, when erected, these baths be turned over to the city and the cost of maintenance be assumed by it.[19]

Walters Public Baths No. 1 was built at 131 South High Street in a congested part of the city. This location was selected primarily for actual cleansing rather than recreation. Finally the important day in May, 1900 arrived, with its opening exercises, when the donor, Henry Walters, gave the handsome building to the city. The success of the bathhouse was beyond anyone's wildest imagination. The waiting room was crowded at all times and long lines of patrons patiently awaited their turn for admis-

[15] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 5.
[16] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, p. 17.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[18] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 7.
[19] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, p. 17.

sion. Sailors and others working on ships from various foreign countries, stranded in Baltimore while their ships were being overhauled, were among grateful patrons. For a few cents they could obtain a bath, wash their clothes in the laundry and dry them in the dryer. Many of the patrons belonged to the poorer class and some were wharf laborers. Thousands of them were men living in cheap, crowded lodging houses, men out of work, hoboes who were not able to send their clothes to be washed; in fact many owned only the clothes on their backs.[20] As the *Sun* stated as recently as 1940, "the laundry department had something of the appearance of an intramural nudist colony."[21] Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf told of one occasion when an old man went to Walters Public Baths No. 1 and when he returned home clean and happy, his wife asked him critically where his vest was. He couldn't find it anywhere. Two weeks later he went to the bathhouse again. "I have found my vest, wife," he said on his return home. "Where was it?" she asked. "Under my shirt," he replied.[22]

At this time (1900) the city appointed a Commission, composed of seven members, to operate the Baths: Eugene Levering, Chairman; William H. Morriss, Treasurer; Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf, Secretary; Dr. Mary Sherwood, Dr. Joseph E. Gichner, Dr. John S. Fulton, and George W. Corner, Jr.[23]

As early as 1896, while the bathing system was in its infancy, attention was called to the great need of bathing facilities in congested neighborhoods where children needed to be taught habits of hygiene and cleanliness. With the opening of the first bathhouse in 1900, facilities were provided and efforts were made to encourage bathing among school children. Small cards with a design of a boy carrying his shoes across his shoulders were widely distributed to the children to encourage attendance. As a substitute, because there were no school baths, the Bath Commission opened Walters Public Baths to all school children on Saturday mornings. The result more than justified the experiment as large numbers of children availed themselves of the privilege.

In 1902 a letter was addressed to the School Board offering free baths to all children sent by their teachers at any time. Many

[20] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[21] *Evening Sun*, July 17, 1940, Editorial Page.
[22] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[23] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 7.

responded. Year after year the Commission urged the installation of baths in the public schools. In fact Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf and Dr. Joseph E. Gichner, who was equally interested and active in trying to convince the School Board that shower baths should be installed, frequently made appeals with letters and also with illustrated lectures on hygiene and cleanliness, showing contrasting pictures. These lectures were generally given by Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf and Dr. Joseph E. Gichner, and although these two lecturers eventually convinced the School Board that shower baths in the schools were to be considered a necessity rather than a luxury, to promote health and cleanliness, it was not until April, 1913, that the first shower baths were installed, in Public School No. 6 on South Ann Street.[24] The patronage was composed of children of various ages and the capable attendants were kind to all these children, helping the tiny tots to dress and undress, and sewing buttons on their clothes when needed.[25]

In 1902 Walters Public Baths No. 2, located in a manufacturing neighborhood, on Columbia Avenue, was opened to the public.[26] This handsome building was very much like Walters Public Baths No. 1, and just as efficient. At Walters Public Baths No. 2 the laundries were very popular with the women patrons, who enjoyed the privilege of doing their family wash, while at Walters Public Baths No. 1 the laundries were popular with the men. Many working girls having no means to pay for their personal laundry found their way to Walters Public Baths No. 2 and availed themselves of this privilege to keep their clothes clean. A large portion of all the patrons at No. 2 Baths were Lithuanians.[27]

There were several playgrounds without bathing facilities in the vicinity of Walters Public Baths No. 2, which were maintained by the Playground Association. The young people at these playgrounds were admitted to Walters Public Baths No. 2 and 25,000 boys and girls enjoyed refreshing baths each season as a result.[28]

Henry Walters was interested in presenting a third bathhouse to the city. The Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf requested him to permit this bathhouse to be used by colored people. The city officials fully

[24] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 20.
[25] *Fortieth Anniversary of the Free Public Bath Commission, 1940*, p. 9.
[26] *Free Public Bath Commission, 1900-1925*, p. 9.
[27] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[28] *Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1909*, p. 7.

understood that Henry Walters planned to contribute the building known as Walters Public Baths No. 3 to the city, and that the city was expected to assume its maintenance. These officials started a controversy declaring their opposition was due to the fact that colored people would not use the baths, that their maintenance would be a waste of the city's money. However, Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf, with his faith in Americans of all origins, insisted that our colored Americans should have an equal chance with white people for cleanliness and recreation. This faith argued his point more eloquently than any verbal sermon of religious depth.

Walters Public Baths No. 3 was erected and opened at 1018 Argyle Avenue in 1905. It was immediately frequented by colored people of discrimination such as clergymen, teachers and members of societies.[29] Their support influenced and educated others who learned to respect the importance of personal cleanliness, especially those living in crowded rooms who had not previously accepted cleanliness as a necessity. This program of democracy was a fine object lesson to both white and colored people, and it developed an attitude of good will, tolerance and better understanding for all.

By this time the great success of the Baltimore Baths gave the city a national reputation. From many parts of the United States and Canada frequent inquiries were made regarding the proper construction of swimming pools, shower baths, laundries and later the Portable Baths. For instance, Richmond, Virginia, after thoroughly studying Baltimore baths as compared to baths in other cities, decided to adopt the Baltimore system.[30] Later, New York City Bathhouses began installing laundry facilities patterned after Baltimore's. An interesting letter was received from Tientsin, China, requesting the plans of one of the Baltimore baths for use in the erection of similar establishments there. " Something of the kind," said the writer, " is a great need here, for the people are so poor and the houses so small that it is useless to preach personal cleanliness to a great many of them, because they have no place where they could get a bath if they wanted it. I think no better form of social service could be done than to introduce

[29] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1906*, p. 6.
[30] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.

something of the type you and others have in Baltimore in these bathhouses." [31]

The popularity of the Baths frequently caused Thomas M. Beadenkopf some amusement. When introduced to an out-of-town stranger, he was described as Founder of the Baltimore Baths and Pastor of a Congregational Church. He responded by saying that he had often heard that godliness and cleanliness were closely related, but that it was most unusual to hear cleanliness placed ahead of godliness.

For some years all the swimming pools were controlled by the Bath Commission. The park pools were established because the Commission foresaw that pollution would eventually render the bathing beaches unsuitable for use.[32] Patterson Park pool was very popular and it is probably one of the largest artificial pools in the country. In 1906 the Bath Commission made personal contacts with the Park Board requesting them to construct a large open air gymnasium and a field house along with the swimming pool. Their request was granted. The bathing pool, open air gymnasium and field house in Patterson Park attracted thousands of patrons from all over the city.[33] Each summer Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf appealed to the East Baltimore Business Men's Association for contributions to help him provide a "safe and sane Fourth of July celebration" for the people at this beautiful setting. This Association responded generously. The celebrations consisted of an afternoon performance at the pool by some of the Public Bath employees, then a refreshing supper was served, and fireworks were displayed at night. This free and unique entertainment was enjoyed by large crowds, and again the useful and colorful leadership of Thomas M. Beadenkopf endeared him to all peoples. Games, athletics, and swimming also made Patterson Park very outstanding in popularity. For three summer months each season a swimming instructor was engaged, and, as a result, interest was aroused in swimming among the non-swimmers. Regular instruction in swimming was given at four bathing stations: Patterson Park, Canton, Gwynn Falls, and Locust Point. Carroll Park, Clifton Park, and Druid Hill Park all proved to be exceedingly attractive and well patronized.

[31] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1913*, p. 13.
[32] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 11.
[33] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1906*, pp. 10-11.

In 1911 shower baths were installed at Roosevelt Park Recreation Center, in cooperation with the Recreation House which had been built from funds raised by the Hampden Woodberry Neighborhood Association. These baths were constantly used by various gymnasium classes and athletic teams engaged in field sports.[34]

In 1904, the Bath Commission suggested to the city the necessity of providing public comfort stations. The suggestion was made again and again and finally, in 1907, the Mayor and City Council appropriated money for the construction of Baltimore's first comfort station at Market Place and Lombard Street. It was opened in 1908 and in the first eight months accommodated 225,000 patrons.[35]

During a prolonged siege of intense heat in 1907, the Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf's imagination again traveled to the crowded, congested districts of Baltimore. He finally conceived a plan which would bring relief to many people suffering from the summer's heat. He could visualize thousands of people getting a refreshing shower bath in a gospel tent which could be quickly rigged up close to a city fire plug, and in which shower equipment could be installed. To him the introduction of the gospel tent was simple, regardless of the fact that it was predominantly used for evangelical purposes. The Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf didn't ask Henry Walters for any more expensive buildings; a great many would have been necessary to accommodate all the crowded districts he had in mind. The Gospel Tent as a Portable Bathhouse was undoubtedly the answer—taking the baths to the people in crowded districts—and they furnished relief to many thousands of patrons.[36] Eugene Levering and others urged Mr. Beadenkopf to have the Portable Baths named "Beadenkopf Baths," but he modestly declined the honor.

That the need and value of these Portable Baths were appreciated is evidenced by the fact that inquiries regarding their use, construction and general subject matter came from New York; New Bedford, Massachusetts; Newark, New Jersey; Atlanta, Georgia; Louisville, Kentucky; Paducah, Kentucky; Kansas City, Missouri; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Racine, Wisconsin; Omaha, Nebraska; Harriman, Tennessee and other cities.[37] In fact the

[34] *A Historical Sketch of the Free Public Bath Commission, op. cit.*, p. 19.
[35] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year, 1908*, p. 8.
[36] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[37] *Annual Report of the Fere Public Bath Commission for the Year 1909*, p. 10.

" Portables " also served as hygienic and economical baths in camps, playgrounds, and small towns unable to maintain elaborate baths.

In 1909 and 1910 more than 33,000 children were served each summer in the Portable Baths. The Board of Estimates appropriated $1,000 for six or eight " Summer Portable Baths " to be operated at Fells Point, Canton, South Baltimore, Hampden and Woodberry.[38]

Later, more practical wooden portables were constructed, and these were placed in locations where baths were most needed. They contributed to the health and well being of school children by giving them the joy of a refreshing and healthful shower bath. These baths placed a strong emphasis on the need for school baths. They were also used as experimental baths before permanent bathhouses were erected. As a result, the corner of West and Marshall Streets was selected as a desirable location for a permanent bathhouse when Henry Walters offered to present a fourth building to the city. Known as Walters Public Baths No. 4, it was opened in 1911.[39] The use of portable baths also aided in selecting the site for Greenmount Avenue Baths and Comfort Station, which is in close proximity to Belair Market, a busy thoroughfare, and has a very large patronage.[40] These were the first baths constructed by the city. They were opened to the public in 1912.

The usefulness of the Portable Baths was successfully demonstrated, first, in taking the baths to all peoples; second, as experimental baths to test the need before the erection of permanent buildings; and, third, to encourage the installation of baths in our public schools. Since, however, the public schools now have shower baths which are open to the public, the Portable Baths have ceased making contribution, and have not been used since 1923.[41]

Early in 1912 Thomas M. Beadenkopf and two other Commissioners were asked to attend a World Conference on Hygiene and Public Baths at the Hague in Holland. " Portable Baths " was assigned to the Rev. Beadenkopf for his subject. Arriving at the

[38] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1908*, p. 10.
[39] *Free Public Bath Commission*, pp. 17-9.
[40] *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, 1900-1925*, p. 11.
[41] *Ibid.*, u. 17.

Hague a day before the scheduled conference, he made inquiries regarding the language most familiar to his audience. That night he translated his long address from English into German.

Soon after his death in 1915, during World War I, a letter was received from the Hague stating that the portable baths, which he had introduced at the World Conference in 1912, were very popular and were scattered over the country and in use by the Army. The Holland letter also stated, " Your system of Portable Baths, explained and exposed on the first International Congress of Public Baths and School Baths at Scheveningen in 1912, is now much used in our country." [42]

The Bath Commission and its employees have all these years consistently shown great pride in their loyal service to a splendid cause.[43] They are still free of political or personal influences, and have at all times regarded most highly the essentials of this magnificent contribution of public baths to the City of Baltimore. The Commission has kept faith with both Thomas M. Beadenkopf's ideals and Henry Walters' request since the opening of the first Walters Public Baths on South High Street, when Mr. Walters handed the keys and deed to the Bath Commission stating that he " only hoped the Commission would run the bathhouses on the good old democratic principle of the greatest good to the greatest number." [44]

Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf found inspiration in contact with his fellowmen. He believed in sharing his blessings by creating opportunities which would inspire others to achieve something useful and effective in their lives. His ministry to the welfare and betterment of mankind speaks far more eloquently than his sermons. We can only wish for more men of such character, unselfishness, and devotion.

[42] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1915*, p. 7.
[43] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 26.
[44] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, p. 17.

MARYLAND QUAKERS AND SLAVERY

By Kenneth L. Carroll

IN the second half of the 1650's, when Quakers first settled in Maryland, Negro slavery existed both here and in other British colonies. It does not appear that Friends considered the holding of slaves as inconsistent with their principles. In fact, it is reported to have been the usual custom with Friends, after attending the sessions of the Yearly Meeting at West River, to go on board slave-ships lying near by and select their slaves.[1]

Alice Kennersly, of Maryland, bequeathed her " negro woman Betty and her child " to Daniel Cox in consideration that he should " pay twenty shillings annually for thirty years to the Meeting, for the paying of travelling Friends' ferriage in Dorchester County, or whatever other occasions Friends may see meet." The Meeting recognized this bequest by advising Daniel Cox to be present at the next Monthly Meeting to answer whatever questions that might be asked him concerning the premises.[2]

Among the early Quaker owners of slaves in Maryland there is found the name of Wenlock Christison (sometimes spelled Christerson), one of the brave band of " Friends of Truth " who suffered persecution in Boston. During the trial of William Leddra in March, 1660, this Christison, who had previously been banished from Boston on pain of death, suddenly appeared in Court as the friend and sympathizer of the prisoner—braving all consequence to himself, in order that he might possibly aid his friend and at the same time serve the cause which he had so earnestly embraced. Again he was arrested and tried; and this time he was sentenced to be hanged. After a few days, with twenty-seven other Quakers, he was released. In 1664 he was

[1] *Commemorative Exercises of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Friends' Meeting-House at Third Haven* (Easton, 1884), p. 23.

[2] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for Business, I, 190. These records, hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes, are located in the Talbot County Register of Wills Office.

whipped with ten lashes, in each of three towns in Massachusetts, and then driven into the wilderness. Sometime after this Christison made a voyage to the Barbadoes. Then, by 1670, he settled in Talbot County, Maryland, on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River, on a tract of land known as "Ending of Controversy." [3]

In 1681, some two years after the death of Christison, there appears in the minutes of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends notice that Elizabeth Christison (widow of Wenlock), William Sharpe, and Thomas Taylor, executors of his last will and testament, had been arrested at the suit of "Wm. Diggs, concerning of some negroes sent by Winlock out of Barbadoes to this country." [4] Diggs, in all probability, was Col. Diggs, commander at St. Mary's in 1689, when the archives of the province were surrendered to John Coode, the leader of the Protestant Association.[5] Harrison is apparently correct in interpreting the wording of this brief minute to mean that these slaves were sent out of Barbadoes by Christison, who was at that time present in the island, and were not purchased from a cargo import by Col. Diggs.

These two examples, and others which might be shown from the records of the Meetings as well as of the courts, show clearly that the Quaker "testimony" against holding men in bondage had not always existed. In fact, it was about one hundred and fifty years after the first Quakers settled in Maryland that the Meetings were free of slave-owners.

Before the Meetings could offer advice on this subject, there had to grow up a sensitiveness in the minds of the individual members of the society. In 1671 George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, felt called upon to advise Friends in Barbadoes concerning their Negroes—admonishing them "to endeavour to train them

[3] Samuel A. Harrison, *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1878) presents a good life of Christison. In large part, this work is based upon George Bishope's somewhat colored *New England Judged*, first printed in 1661. Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, I, 103-132, contains this memoir by Dr. Harrison.

[4] Third Haven Minutes, I, 44. It should be pointed out that, while this is a paper dealing with Maryland Quakers, examples to illustrate the point under discussion are often taken from the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends (Easton). These records are complete from 1676 to the present.

[5] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

up in the fear of God . . . and after certain years of servitude they should make them free." [6]

William Dixon, who married the widow of Wenlock Christison, wishing, in 1684, " to sell a negro his freedom desires ye meeting's advice." He is referred to the Yearly Meeting " for advice in yt particular." [7] In 1708, by his will, this same William Dixon emancipated several Negroes and provided for their support by furnishing them land and means to build houses.[8]

In addition to this growing sensitiveness in the minds of the individual members of the Society of Friends belonging to the Maryland Yearly Meeting, there were several outside influences which helped the Yearly Meeting to arrive at its final decision to disown those who continued to hold slaves against the advice of their Meetings. These were the testimony of other Yearly Meetings, the visitation of travelling Friends, and the example and preaching of the Nicholites.

In the earliest days of Pennsylvania, where slavery was in its mildest form, some of its citizens had clear views on this subject. The most prominent of these were Friends of Germantown, who were emigrants from Kreisheim, in Germany. These " unsophisticated vine-dressers and corn growers from the Palatinate of the Upper Rhine, the converts of the devoted William Ames, revolted at the idea of good men buying and selling human beings, heirs with themselves of immortality." Faithful to their convictions, they bore an uncompromising testimony against the evil and prepared an address to their Monthly Meeting on this subject as early as 1688.[9] This was in turn referred to the Yearly Meeting which took no action on it—feeling that Friends were not yet of one mind on the subject.

In 1700, after having made provision for the emancipation of the few slaves he held, William Penn brought the matter to the attention of a Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, which, however,

[6] Fox's *Journal*, II, 134. Cited by J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1862), p. 22.

[7] Third Haven Minutes, I, 66.

[8] *Talbot County Wills,* Liber I, Folio 271. Harrison felt certain that some of these people, who had served him twenty years, were of that cargo of Negroes sent out of Barbadoes by Wenlock Christison.

[9] James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1854), II, 192. The address from the Meeting at Germantown, held the 18th of the 2nd Month, 1688, is reproduced here on pages 193-195.

merely directed that Indians and Negroes should be encouraged to attend Friends' Meetings.

The concern among members of the Society in relation to slavery was spreading, and some members had espoused the cause of human liberty as the inherent right of all. One of the earliest and most earnest of these was Ralph Sandiford, who removed in youth to Philadelphia from Liverpool, where he was born in 1693. A merchant, he sometimes visited the West Indies where the revolting cruelty to slaves awakened his attention and excited his sympathy. Upon his return to Philadelphia, he urged upon the members of his own Meeting the duty of freeing their slaves. In 1729 he published a treatise entitled *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times*, in which he advanced "many cogent arguments against slavery and the slave-trade, showing that they are subversive to the natural rights of man and utterly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity." [10]

The next earnest advocate of emancipation was Benjamin Lay, who quite often resorted to Jeremiah-like methods of enforcing his arguments. Once he came to the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia with a sword in one hand and a bladder of blood in the other. Running the sword through the bladder, he sprinkled the blood on several Friends and declared that so would the sword be sheathed in the bowels of the nation if they did not leave off oppressing the Negroes.[11]

Another early leader in this movement was Anthony Benezet, of a French Protestant family, who settled in Philadelphia in 1731. One of his pamphlets was entitled *An Historical Account of Guinea*, containing "an inquiry into the rise and progress of the slave trade, its nature and calamitous effects." [12]

Perhaps the Quaker who had the greatest influence among the Maryland Friends was John Woolman of New Jersey. In 1746, along with Isaac Andrews, he engaged in a gospel mission to Maryland and Virginia. His religious concern on the subject of slavery apparently was deepened by the scenes which he witnessed and the feelings that attended his mind. After his return from this visit, he wrote some observations on slavery. This work was first published in the year 1754, and a second part was added in 1762.

[10] Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, From Its Rise to the Year 1828* (Philadelphia, 1867), III, 240-242.
[11] *Ibid.*, III, 245-246.
[12] *Ibid.*, III, 314-315.

Entitled *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes: Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination,* this was not the first treatise ever published on this subject but it was one of the most effective that has ever appeared.[13] Again, in 1766, John Woolman made a visit to Maryland and was accompanied this time by John Sleeper. These two Quakers from New Jersey travelled on foot through the Eastern Shore region (Woolman's decision to travel on foot had been brought about by his desire to come into closer sympathy with the slave in his life of labor) and their testimony was widely received.[14]

As has been pointed out earlier, the example of the Nicholites of Caroline County had an influence upon the neighboring Quakers of the Eastern Shore—particularly when coupled with the visit of John Woolman.[15] Joseph Nichols, the first preacher of this society and the chief instrument in its founding, was the first man in his neighborhood to preach against slavery. Two members of the Nicholites, William Dawson and James Harris, were the first to emancipate their slaves. The example of these two made such an impact on their co-religionists that the testimony against slavery was incorporated in their Discipline; it became a disownable offense even to employ a slave.[16] Some of them, among whom was James Horney, were even more zealous, refusing either to eat with slave-holders or to partake of the produce raised by slave labor.[17] The Quakers were, with one exception, in full sympathy with the teachings of Nichols (the testimony of the Nicholites and of the Society of Friends against war, oaths, and a stipendiary ministry were identical), and often invited him to attend their meetings. Yet, at this time, they refused to accept his condemnation of slave-holding. The matter had thus reached a critical point when John Woolman, accompanied by John Sleeper, made his visit to Maryland in 1766.

The first minute on the subject of slavery appearing in the manuscript records of Friends in Maryland was in the 6th Month, 1759, when, upon revision of the queries, a new one was adopted

[13] *Ibid.*, III, 313.
[14] Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 96-97.
[15] See my article " Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 47-61.
[16] Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[17] Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 495.

as follows: " Are Friends careful of importing or buying of negroes, and doe they use them well they are possessed of by inheritance or otherwise, endeavoring to trane them up in the principles of Christian religion? " [18]

In the 5th Month, 1760, the records of the Yearly Meeting at West River (at this time the Yearly or General Meeting met alternately, twice a year, at West River on the Western Shore and Treadhaven or Thirdhaven on the Eastern Shore) reported " some *oneasiness*," with some Friends respecting the words " buying of negroes," " agreed to last year." The Meeting felt that " Friends at present are not fully ripe in their judgments to carry the minute farther than against being concerned in the importing of negroes." [19] In the 10th Month of the same year, the Meeting at Treadhaven declared " This Meeting concludes that Friends should not in any wise encourage the importation of negroes, by buying or selling them, or other slaves." In the 5th Month, 1762, the Meeting at West River concluded that it was their " solid judgment that no member of our society shall be concerned in *importing* or *buying* of negroes, nor selling any without the consent and approbation of the Monthly Meeting they belong to." [20]

This last statement explains the case of Powell Cox's applying to Third Haven Monthly Meeting, on the 30th of the 5th Month, 1765, " for leave to sell some Negroes who have fallen into his hands by means of an attachment." The Meeting appointed Joseph Bartlett, Henry Troth, James Kemp, Jonathan Neal, Isaac Dixon, and John Dixon to examine " into the circumstances of the case and to give him leave if they think proper, and to report thereof to our next Meeting." [21] After an investigation, they " thought best to give him leave to sell them at private sale provided he can get good places for them." [22]

Two years later, Dennis Hopkins, Sr., when called before the same Monthly Meeting, " acknowledged the Truth of his having sold a Negroe, but informed the Meeting that he was Ignorant of the direction of the Yearly Meeting against that practice, & Expressed his Sorrow for having acted contrary to the mind of Friends." This was received as satisfactory.[23] On the 30th of the

[18] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[19] *Loc. cit.*
[20] *Loc. cit.*
[21] Third Haven Minutes, II, 380.
[22] *Ibid.*, II, 381.
[23] *Ibid.*, II, 417½.

7th Month, 1767, Daniel Bartlett was disowned for having bought a Negro slave.[24]

The Yearly Meeting in 1768 was of unanimous mind in advising that

> such as buy or sell them [i. e., slaves] for term of Life or otherwise, contrary to the former direction of this Meeting, . . . if no prospect appears of their making satisfaction for the same by granting them their liberty, . . . that in such cases the said Meetings are hereby directed to proceed to Disown such persons as disorderly Walkers, until they so far come to a Sight and Sence of their Misconduct as to Condemn the same to the Satisfaction of the said Meetings.[25]

George Willson was first reported on the 30th of the 6th Month, 1768, by the representatives of Tuckaho Preparatory Meeting to the Third Haven Monthly Meeting for having bought a slave.[26] After much patient "laboring" with him on the part of appointed representatives of the Meeting, he was disowned on the 30th of the 3rd Month, 1769.[27] In 1770 Edward Clerk purchased a Negro child contrary to the advice of the Yearly Meeting. He later appeared before his Monthly Meeting and expressed his sorrow for acting contrary to the advice of Friends and signified that he would not have done it except to keep it from being separated from its mother. He likewise stated that he did not know that it was contrary to the advice of Friends when he made the purchase. His explanation was accepted by the Monthly Meeting.[28]

The first manumission recorded in the records of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting was on the 30th of the 7th Month, 1767, when Joseph Berry produced to the Meeting "Certificates of Manumission for Negroes Abram and Hannah whom he has sett free & discharged from service, also a Bond Obligatory on himself and Heirs to set Negro Philip at present a Minor at Liberty when he arrives at the age of Twenty one Years."[29] The Meeting, evidently sensing that these three were just the beginning

[24] *Ibid.*, II, 424-425.
[25] *Ibid.*, II, 458.
[26] The following preparatory meetings were under the Third Haven Monthly Meeting: Third Haven, Bayside, Choptank, Tuckaho, Queen Ann's, and Marshy Creek.
[27] Third Haven Minutes, II, 463.
[28] *Ibid.*, II, 491, 493.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 426.

with more to follow, appointed Daniel Smith to " procure a proper Book for that purpose & to record these, & any other of that kind that the Meeting may hereafter direct." [30] In this book, kept for many years by William Edmondson, until he was replaced in 1779, at his own request, by Richard Bartlett, were recorded manumissions by Benjamin Berry, Joseph Berry, Isaac Dixon, William Edmondson, Samuel Harwood, Magdalen Kemp, Tristram Needles, Howell Powell, Sarah Powell, Henry Troth, James Turner, Daniel Wilson, and other Friends.[31] The greatest concentrations of manumissions were from 1767 to 1771 (following Woolman's journey in 1766) and from 1777 to 1780 (following the action of the Yearly Meeting).

In 1773 the Yearly Meeting advised Friends to continue their concern over the practice of slave-holding and to labor " with those who are in the practice of holding slaves." [32] In response to this directive of the Yearly Meeting, the Third Haven Monthly Meeting on the 31st of the 3rd Month, 1774, appointed a standing committee of Benjamin Parvin, Howell Powell, William Edmondson, and Joseph Berry to " have the care and oversight of the negroes amongst us, whether in a state of Slavery or Freedom, & to treat with those who do not justice to them, as Truth may abilitate them." Their progress in this work should be reported to the Meeting " when they find freedom." [33]

The Yearly Meeting recommended in 1776 that each Monthly Meeting record the manumission of slaves — something which had been done by Third Haven Monthly Meeting since 1767. These records were to include both the name of the manumitter and the number freed. Copies were to be sent to the Yearly Meeting.[34]

The final step, toward which the Society of Friends had long been feeling its way, was reached in 1777, when the Yearly Meeting produced the following minute:

By the Reports from our several Quarters we have Information, that our Testimony against Slave-keeping gains ground, which affords encourage-

[30] *Loc. cit.*

[31] The existence and whereabouts of this volume are unknown to the writer. These names were gleaned from several volumes of manuscript minutes of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends.

[32] Third Haven Minutes, III, 28.

[33] *Ibid.*, III, 41.

[34] *Ibid.*, III, 72.

ment for the continuance of the united Labours of well-concerned Friends. This Meeting having been weightily under the Consideration of this important Branch of our Christian Testimony, & a concern prevailing for the furtherance and promotion thereof, have concluded, that, should any of the Members of our religious Society, remain so regardless of the Advices of this Meeting from time to time communicated, as to continue to hold Mankind in a state of Slavery; the Subscription of such, for the use of the Society, ought not in the future be received . . . and if any should continue so far to justify their conduct, as to refuse or reject the tender Advice of their Brethren herein; It is our solid Sense and Judgment of this Meeting, that the continuing in the Practice is become so burthensome, that such persons must be disunited from our religious Society.[35]

Under this rule of discipline some were disowned for " slave-keeping," after patient waiting and frequent admonitions. Usually, when disownment was resorted to by Third Haven Monthly Meeting, there was some additional charge. Aaron Parrott was disowned the 26th of the 11th Month, 1778, for continuing to own slaves and for taking " an Affirmation " which the Meeting felt obligated him to go to war.[36] Elizabeth Dudley (late Parrott) was disowned the 27th of the 1st Month, 1785, for owning slaves and for being married with the assistance of a priest.[37]

James Edmondson and John Bartlett, near the end of 1777, were added to the " Committee for care and oversight of negroes " to visit "such of our Brethren as continue in the practice of Slave-keeping." [38] The Quarterly Meeting then recommended that the subordinate Monthly Meetings " do continue their Care in visiting the few who now remain possessed of slaves." [39] As the records show, the number of manumissions continued to increase slowly.

On the 16th of the 4th Month, 1779, the Quarterly Meeting for the Eastern Shore takes the reports of the subordinate Monthly Meetings as " importing in substance . . . that they appear clear

[35] *Ibid.*, III, 84. The New England Yearly Meeting had arrived at this same point in 1770, and in 1776 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had reached a like conclusion. In 1777 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting (which embraced the Friends of South Carolina and Georgia also) acted in concert with their brethren in Maryland, but the Virginia Yearly Meeting did not adopt this extreme measure of disownment until 1784 (See Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

[36] *Ibid.*, III, 98.

[37] *Ibid.*, III, 202.

[38] *Ibid.*, III, 84.

[39] *Ibid.*, III, 87. The Cecil and Third Haven Monthly Meetings, which included all the then existing Freinds' Meetings on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, were under this Quarterly Meeting.

of Slave keeping." [40] This same view is stated exactly one year later in the records of the Quarterly Meeting. Yet, in the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, there is found the appointment, on the 22nd of the 2nd Month, 1787, of John Register, Solomon Charles, Thomas Wickersham, and John Boon " to visit and make a more minute inspection in the situation of negroes remaining in the families of friends." [41] On the 25th of the 5th Month, 1786, Howell Powell, Jr., son of an honored elder of the Meeting, was disowned for holding slaves and indulging a " Libertine spirit." [42]

In 1784 William Bowers died, leaving to the Third Haven Meeting of Friends ten slaves. The Meeting ruled that those of suitable age should be discharged and proper places should be provided for the young ones. Manumission for the whole lot was to be provided at the next meeting. However, it was discovered that this bequest of William Bowers needed Legislative approval. The petition drawn up by the Meeting was rejected after its second reading by the Assembly on the grounds that it would be unconstitutional.[43]

It might be supposed that slave-holding among the Quakers would have disappeared completely within a short time after the Yearly Meeting took action in 1777. Yet the 1790 Census for Talbot County lists John Fleming, William Kemp, Edward Needles, John Needles, John Regester, Elizabeth Sherwood, and William Troth (members of Third Haven Monthly Meeting at this time) as slave holders.[44] In 1792 Third Haven stated in its report to the Quarterly Meeting, that the Meeting was " clear of slavery except in the estates of some minors." [45]

Thus, it is seen that Maryland Quakers continued to hold slaves, though in an ever decreasing number, for many years after the action of the Yearly Meeting made such action grounds for disownment. Time, operating through wills and occasional manumissions, was the answer.

[40] Minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, for the Eastern Shore of Maryland (from 1755 to 1833). These Quarterly Meeting Records are with the Third Haven records in Easton.

[41] Third Haven Minutes, III, 231.

[42] *Ibid.*, III, 223.

[43] *Ibid.*, III, 200-201, 205, 217.

[44] *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Washington, 1907), pp. 110-113. No attempt was made to examine these census records for all members of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends.

[45] Third Haven Minutes, III, 301.

The Quakers were, it might be added, not content to free their slaves and then forget them. The committee for " care and oversight," set up in 1774, was interested in " the negroes amongst us, whether in a state of Slavery or Freedom." [46] In 1784 the Meeting was informed that the liberty of those Negroes who had been set free by will was likely to be called into question. The Meeting, therefore, appointed John Bartlett, James Berry, Solomon Charles, Benjamin Parvin, Richard Bartlett, and John Regester " to draw up an address suitable to the occasion & present it on behalf of this meeting to the ensuing Court of Talbot County, and proceed further in the case if they should see cause." [47] Apparently, no further action was necessary. On other occasions Friends were encouraged to give what spiritual and material help they could so that they might aid those Negroes in a " low state " around them.

There is no means of ascertaining the pecuniary sacrifices made by Maryland Quakers as a result of their conscientious conviction that slave-holding was inconsistent with the Truth. Tradition relates that one family alone freed two hundred slaves.[48] This, however, seems to be a large number for any one Maryland family to own at this particular time. Yet the total sacrifice must have been impressive, for large bodies of Friends lived in the slave-holding counties of Anne Arundel, Prince Georges, and Montgomery, and on the Eastern Shore where slaves performed the great mass of labor.

In this study of Maryland Quakers and slavery, it has been clearly pointed out that their testimony had not always been against slave-holding (as Janney, Bowden, and other Quaker historians plainly agree). The glory of the Society of Friends is that, " at so early a period, even before the public conscience had been awakened, and at a time when the pecuniary interests of its members were so heavily involved—interests which have so much to do wtih our moral decisions "—it should have arrived at the position of espousing human liberty as the inherent right of all.[49]

[46] *Ibid.*, III, 41.
[47] *Ibid.*, III, 187.
[48] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[49] Harrison, *op cit.*, p. 72. This attitude became so consistent among Quakers that they even declined to hire the labor of slaves from those who held them.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia. CHARLES B. CLARK, Editor and Author. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1950. 3 v. I-II, xiii, 1182; v. III, 350 pp. $27.50.

The *Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* is a subscription publication. The first volume is historical and chronological, the second, topical and institutional, and the third—for which the publisher bears responsibility—biographical. Advance purchases by the subjects of the biographical sketches insured publication of the entire work.

On occasion critics have belittled the worth of such works, usually by labeling them as "commercial." The epithet, of course, is not a true criticism, though frequently disparagement has been well merited. Too often the authors, contributors or editors have been amateur antiquarians rather than trained historians and their intense interest in narrow fields has resulted in the isolation of local events from the national scene. Too often, also, the editors have been limited in their objectivity by fear of offense to possible subscribers or, again, the authors' qualifications have not included an ability to write with interest.

Sometimes, however, the scoffers have been too sweeping in their condemnation of "commercial" publishing ventures. The simple truth is that, without the financial support of the subscription method, the histories of many specialized areas would remain unrecorded save in hard-to-come-by monographs or scattered articles in out-of-date periodicals. Despite recent advances, no field cries for the attention of trained historians as does that of local history; if skilled workers and writers can be brought into the field with profit to all concerned only by use of the subscription method then the use of that device might well be widened. Provided that agreement exists on high standards, there seems to me to be no more "commercialism" in accepting a flat fee from a publisher than in requesting one from a foundation. Dr. Clark is to be congratulated for bringing his talents to bear on a task of this nature.

In presenting *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* both editor and publisher appear to have set and conscientiously followed the necessary standards. The work covers events and personalities from the Shore's earliest days to modern times and includes such topics as county government and history, religion, architecture, economic and social life, politics, and even sports. Just as Dr. Clark states in his foreword that no single person could do a thorough job in the time permitted, so no one reviewer adequately can discuss a work of this scope in the allowable space even if

he possessed the necessary qualifications. I, for one, cannot offer sound criticism on such widely varying topics as the geology of the Eastern Shore, the Indians of the area, the share of the section in the nation's several wars, and its social, economic and political life at different periods of its history. A proper evaluation of the volumes must await the verdicts of several specialists.

The work does serve the definite purpose of presenting material compiled from various authentic sources and related to the history of the State and nation. The text is thoroughly documented and the references cited at the end of each chapter provide what is, in effect, a bibliography. Included in the material which is new—to me at least—is the interesting discussion of the Eastern Shore separatist movement by James C. Mullikin. The editor has rendered a service, too, in bringing up to date—both in relation to chronology and to recently unearthed data—many of the topical and institutional chapters such as the one on Washington College. In addition to the editing, a substantial portion of the history is Dr. Clark's original composition, though the specialized knowledge of numerous contributors has been utilized effectively. The index has been skillfully prepared and the work supplemented with many reproductions of appropriate photographs, prints, maps and statistical charts.

Admittedly this is an inadequate review. I can only indicate the scope of the work and express satisfaction in the fact that subscription publishers in the field of local history are turning to the employment of trained and capable historian-authors.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE.

Eleanor Calvert and Her Circle. By ALICE COYLE TORBERT. New York: The William Frederick Press, 1950. Published under the auspices of The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the District of Columbia. 150 pp. $3.25.

This slim little volume continues the story of America's "Royal Family" from the Washington diaries and writings, through the beginnings of the Capital City and up until the war of 1812. It is largely a story of women, the women who have been vague background figures for the great men of the period and who now step into the light through their chatty correspondence. The book ties together four great houses, all now open to the visiting public, Mount Vernon, Kenmore, Woodlawn and Arlington. Scores of lesser plantation homes and kin are woven into the fabric of local and national history.

Eleanor Calvert, granddaughter of the Fifth Lord Baltimore, daughter-in-law of Martha Washington and mother of the lovely Nellie Custis, ward of the Washingtons and wife of Lawrence Lewis, is the central figure. The mother of twenty children, eleven of whom lived to maturity, widowed early but soon married to an unsuccessful man, her life was full of trials and complete domesticity. Illnesses and love affairs have always

been predominant in women's letters and the Custis-Stuart family letters are no exception. Only the unconventional Eliza Law could put real spice into her gossip. However, all the little doings of a family, dug from this source and that, when put together give a pretty complete picture of life at that time. And these people were on the fringes of greatness; they had opportunities to meet distinguished visitors at Mount Vernon, go to Mrs. Madison's balls and move in the rarified atmosphere that belongs to the early history of this great republic.

Only the devoted hand of a student of this period and region could have pieced the story together and it is to be sincerely regretted that the story could not have been published in its entirety—for there is much that is omitted. The genealogical tables for working out the various relationships in a large and complicated family are excellent. The book is well indexed and well documented, although this reader experienced difficulty in following the coded form of annotation. However, it is a readable little book on the lighter side of history and brings to public notice some hitherto unpublished letters to fill in a gap in the Washington story.

R. R. B.

Steam Navigation in Virginia and North Carolina Waters, 1826-1836. Compiled . . . by JOHN C. EMERSON, JR. Portsmouth, Va.: the Author, 1949. 453 pp. Planographed. $6.00.

This is a painstaking compilation of contemporaneous newspaper items relating to the steamboats plying out of Norfolk during the decade between 1826 and 1836. While it pertains mainly to the port of Norfolk, there is much to interest Baltimoreans who seek information concerning early Baltimore steamboats. There are a large number of references to steamers which sailed between Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond and Philadelphia. A number of the steamboats which made Norfolk their home port were built in Baltimore. There are more or less detailed descriptions of some of them, with the data as to their general construction, types of engines and boilers, arrangement of cabins, speed, etc. Most of them had masts, spars and sails. One of the most interesting items is a reference to the ice-breaker *Relief* which the Port of Baltimore had in service in 1835. The "ancient" *F. C. Latrobe* dates back to 1879, so that she had at least one predecessor.

It is regrettable that the book has not been put out with a more durable binding, as with its subject matter and excellent index, it is a worthwhile reference work for the steamboat fan.

WILLIAM C. STEUART.

The United States Coast Guard 1709-1915. By STEPHEN H. EVANS, Captain, USCG, Annapolis, Md.: The United States Naval Institute. 228 pp. $5.00.

Captain Evans' definitive history of the Coast Guard completely fills a gap in the overall story of our past. From its beginning as an agency of the Treasury Department charged with enforcing customs laws, the author clearly traces the growth and development of the organization under various names until January 1915, when, by Act of Congress, it became the all inclusive federal maritime safety and law enforcement agency. Necessarily, Captain Evans frequently touches on general American history as well as on aspects of marine history. The story of the service's difficult conversion from wood and wind to steel and steam and of the Coast Guard's important share in charting Alaskan waters and in exploring and protecting the resources of "Seward's Icebox" particularly are well done. The illustrations are numerous and appropriate and the index more than adequate. *Postscript: 1915-1949* at the end of the book is all too brief. It is hoped that the author is planning to complete the story through World War II.

H. M.

Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860. By HAROLD S. SCHULTZ. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1950. x, 259 pp. $4.50.

The antislavery movement was uppermost in the mind of the South during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. The decade of the 1850's, consequently, has never ceased to attract the interest of historians trying to ascertain the importance of the movement in the coming of the conflict. In this book, Professor Schultz emphasizes and evaluates the importance of the antislavery issue in the development of the factional alignments in South Carolina and its effect on the secession movement.

As the author retraces the course of events from 1852 to 1860, it is not impossible to follow the steps by which the irreconcilables gained the ascendancy in South Carolina. Treating each year from 1852 to 1860 in an individual chapter, he has used to good advantage the technique of summarizing all the issues and their effect on state politics during each year. He points out that the irreconcilables were only able to gain the ascendancy when South Carolina statesmen were convinced that the strength of the antislavery elements in the federal government would mean the end of all represented by South Carolina.

In writing his narrative, the author has almost entirely emphasized the slavery question. He has failed to take into consideration the importance of the economic forces which were at work. His book contributes nothing new to the history of the period. He has devoted almost no attention to

the secession convention of December, 1860. In addition, his style is sometimes hard to follow. Nevertheless, his chapter on "Leadership, 1850-1860," is of interest because of its insight into the mind of the South Carolina leaders.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

The Campus of the First State University. By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON. The University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. 412 pp. $5.00.

Archibald Henderson, Kenan Professor Emeritus of Mathematics at the University of North Carolina and distinguished biographer of George Bernard Shaw, a prominent member of the University community of Chapel Hill for over fifty years as student and professor and long a valuable historian of his native state, has presented what is perhaps the most comprehensive record of the history of an American university campus, its grounds and buildings.

The volume is one of the Sesquicentennial Publications of the University, edited by Dr. Louis R. Wilson. "Campus" for Dr. Henderson "implies University lands as well as the grounds upon which the institution is located: buildings, athletic fields, gymnasium, standium, arboretum, forest, plants and flora, landscape gardening, architecture, and innumerable other aspects of the University's life throughout the entire course of its material growth and physical development for one hundred and fifty years." The book is fully documented from both published and unpublished sources and sprinkled with 59 illustrations or photographs and 12 maps or plans. It has useful appendices and a full index. As inclusive as Dr. Henderson indicates in his foreword, it is a valuable repository of University and university village history—an indispensable supplement to the official *History of the University of North Carolina* by Kemp P. Battle, published in two volumes between 1907 and 1912.

PHILIP MAHONE GRIFFITH.

The Catholic University of America, 1903 to 1909. The Rectorship of Dennis J. O'Connell. By COLMAN J. BARRY, O. S. B. Washington, D. C. The Catholic University of America Press, 1950. 309 pp. $3.50.

This book is the fourth in a series recounting the history of the Catholic University of America at Washington. The earlier volumes treat respectively the formative years of the University by John Tracy Ellis, the rectorship of John J. Keane (first rector) by Patrick H. Ahern and the rectorship of Thomas J. Conaty (second rector) by Peter E. Hogan, S. S. J.

The period of which Father Barry writes is an extremely interesting and important one for the University. The institution, one of the earliest graduate schools in the United States, was emerging from its limited and cautious beginnings into full vigor as a national seat of higher education. Stabilizing elements developed during the administration of O'Connell were the establishment of an annual collection for the University in every Catholic Church in the country, the inauguration of an undergraduate school which served as a feeder for the higher faculties, the development of a sound administrative program to govern the University's internal organization and the establishment of the National Catholic Educational Association. These advances were made in spite of great trials, the most serious of which was the heavy financial loss suffered by the University in the failure of its fiscal agent and treasurer, Thomas E. Waggaman.

Father Barry's book treats of these matters in a thoroughly frank and a highly scholarly manner. The work is extremely well documented. For the general reader the chapter on O'Connell's early years in Rome will have, perhaps, the greatest appeal; for Marylanders the intimate part played in this period of the University's progress by Cardinal Gibbons, Charles J. Bonaparte and Michael Jenkins will hold special interest.

RT. REV. JOSEPH M. NELLIGAN.

An American Family. By EDWARD NICHOLAS CLOPPER, Ph. D. Huntington, W. Va. Standard Printing & Publishing Co., 1950. xiii, 624 pp.

The sub-title of Dr. Clopper's book, "An American Family," reads: "Its Ups and Downs Through Eight Gernerations from 1650 to 1880." It is the story of a typical American family of the migratory pioneer class whose founder came to these shores without the prestige of high rank or status. In the old country from which he came, he had learned the honorable and useful handicraft of blacksmith, a vocation immortalized by one of our great American poets.

Cornelius Jansen Clopper came from Bergen-op-Zoom in the Netherlands to New Amsterdam (later, New York) about the year 1650, for on March 3, 1652 he was a witness to a baptism in the Reformed Dutch Church. He married in 1657 in New Amsterdam Heyltje Pieters (from Amsterdam) and had issue ten children.

"An American Family" is more than the customary genealogy. It is really an historical narrative based upon a melange of material compiled from various original sources, such as Church and State records, old family letters and Bibles, business contracts and other privately owned documents too numerous to mention. The material is documented, but not in the usual style of page footnotes, which mar the appearance of a page. The references to sources are so presented as to become a part of the text itself, or are indicated by consecutive small type numerals, having reference to a bibliography toward the latter part of the book.

The lover of home-spun poetry will find many samples of such effusions in the book. Besides the Clopper family there is an amount of space devoted to the Chambers famly of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and mention is made of the Taneys, Keys, Este-Fishers, *et al.*

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

Maryland in World War II. Volume I: Military Participation. Prepared for the State of Maryland by the War Records Division of the Maryland Historical Society. [Text by HAROLD R. MANAKEE, Director]. Baltimore: War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society, 1950. 384 pp. $3.00 (by mail $3.25 plus Md. sales tax 6 c.).

War in Korea catches Maryland, and Baltimore, still with nothing that can be considered a proper memorial to our combatant dead and living of World War II. The neighborhood shafts, the label applied to a stadium due for rebuilding anyway—are sorry matches, so far, for the War Memorial Plaza, for instance, across from Baltimore's City Hall.

There has been talk enough, and memorial commissions exist; public suggestions for useful construction, instead of granite doughboys or sword-lifting victories, remain in mind. Five years have gone, however, with little specific acomplishment to show and now events across the Korea Strait will doubtless make any proposal even easier to push aside.

But a ray, and a bright one, has shone forth to illuminate this memory of the paths so many Marylanders struggled along, in so many places. It can be argued that the Maryland Historical Society, in its normal functioning, would assemble printed relics and even publish some factual summary of what was achieved by the enrolled men and women of this State; but it is unlikely to be disputed that the work now issued—Volume I of *Maryland in World War II*—exceeds any perfunctory expectation.

A book cannot fully answer the need to tell our descendants of what it was like, and of what Marylanders did, in the war that is still this country's greatest. But nothing of concrete and steel will retain meaning, without written explanation. By the Society's count, 250,786 persons from Maryland fought or served in some definite way, between January 1, 1939, "when the war clouds were gathering" and December 31, 1946, when presidential proclamation ended hostilities officially. What only a book can do is to set down their names, and trace the tremendous variety of their contributions.

In rooms on the ground floor of the Society's headquarters, personnel of the Society's War Records Division have spent these five years putting together such a book. Their present publication is only Volume I of an enterprise that will probably require three more volumes, and as many years. "Perhaps the permanent preservation of these (World War II) records will be of more importance than any publication program," says Harold R. Manakee, director of the War Records Division and editor for the project, in a modest side remark concerning the special library

that has grown up behind the book. But for most of the living among the 250,786, "Maryland in World War II" by itself will be archive enough.

The subtitle of Volume I is "Military Participation," and its subject matter is tri-fold: individual military units, six altogether, which from the geography of their activation numbered more than the mathematically-expectable proportion of Marylanders; Maryland installations of the Army, the Navy and the Coast Guard; and the wartime attainments of Marylanders of headline rank. This is, of course, a selection, or compromise; it is an answer to the dilemma confronting any war-records editor, from Maryland to California, of how to separate the specifically military effort of his State from the highly-integrated effort of the nation as a whole. It is, readers may notice, a more comprehensive compromise, and book, than has ever resulted from the participation of Marylanders in earlier wars.

Mr. Manakee himself came on the job in December, 1946, a European Theater veteran of naval warfare, and successor to Dr. Nelson B. Lasson. He has had the aid at all times of the Society's War Records Committee, comprising John T. Menzies, chairman; the Hon. George L. Radcliffe, president of the Society; Gary Black, Roger Brooke Hopkins, the Hon. Howard W. Jackson and Major J. Rieman McIntosh; and of James W. Foster, director of the Society and consultant to the War Records Division. A staff of four employees did much of the daily toil.

Some of the work had already been done by others. Of the six military units, as might be expected, the first is Maryland's federalized National Guard—the 29th Division. Its story, by regiment as well as division, was elsewhere available in newspaper, magazine and book form. For the five Johns Hopkins and University of Maryland army general hospitals, some histories were available in manuscript; gaps were filled by "field trip reports," the written record of personal interviews with individuals or agencies concerned. This direct recourse to primary sources distinguishes the entire project, through Volumes II and III, which are to treat of Maryland's agricultural-industrial effort, and the home-front defense and morale work that went beyond the 250,786. Volume IV will be a Gold Star listing of those who died in World War II.

In consequence, even the earnest peruser of newspapers or the strong-memoried war veteran will probably find many data previously unknown to him. In Volume I this particularly holds true for military installations, from Aberdeen Proving Ground to the Baltimore Naval Storehouse. Inevitably, statistics as to how many million maps were printed at the Navy's Hydrographic Office headquarters, or how many gas masks made at Edgewood Arsenal, may only bewilder the civilian reader; he may skip over the formal exposition of every installation's wartime "mission." But it should dent him, to calculate that by 1945 the armed service valuation of holdings in peaceful Maryland had passed half a billion dollars—a fourth of the assessed value of all Baltimore. All material in Volume I is stated to have been given security clearance in Washington; thus Marylanders will find less than most of them know already about Camp Detrick, the biological warfare center at Frederick, or about the newer toxic gases

in Edgewood's metal cylinders. But how many Baltimoreans are independently aware of the former Manhattan District (nuclear-fission project) office in the Standard Oil Building—or Marylanders of the Basic Naval Intelligence School that flourished in Frederick's Francis Scott Key Hotel; or of "Little David," world's largest mortar—but never used; or even of the Army's Remote Receiving Station, at La Plata, through which even now a traveling President keeps in radio touch with the White House? How many Marylanders, for that matter, could differentiate among these Baltimore installations—Cargo Port of Embarkation, Port Agency, Third Transportation Zone, Captain of the Port, the Port Director, the Senior Officer Present (Ashore)? In a final bravura burst, Volume I appends the designations and sites of 127 lesser installations, mostly in Baltimore, that for one reason or another did not receive text mention.

The three winners of the Medal of Honor (two posthumously), most of the 49 generals and 34 admirals, the Baltimorean who alone went on both the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic flights—these and the other prominent individuals mentioned will be more familiar. Already some names—remember the Army War Show?—will seem like ancient history.

Throughout, the prose of Volume I is to be commended for its calmness and directness. That the bombast felt necessary by historians of previous wars has vanished, should be proof enough that mankind does, after all, progress.

Volume I, which goes out of its way to list naval and Maritime Commission ships with Maryland names, not to mention battle honors and captured towns of the 29th Division, seems to be guilty of few omissions. Perhaps Shangri-la, where the armed forces' commander-in-chief spent summer weekends, could have been considered an installation meriting a sketch. If most of the illustrations have the frozen look of official War or Navy Department releases, doubtless there is no other source for any picture. Eighteen pages of index are a doughty labor; it is a shame only that more maps could not have been provided. Not only could few Baltimoreans give road directions to such places as Brookmont, or Suitland, or Carderock, but the thousands of service men who passed through Fort Meade, or Aberdeen, or Bainbridge, or Holabird, would relish 1945-status maps showing as much as the Department of Defense would allow.

This is not to find fault, however, with the 384 pages of a volume that ought to be a reference possession of every book-reading family in Maryland. The initial printing of 3,000 should be a rapid sellout, for Mr. Manakee and his assistants have labored valiantly. Comparison with other states is not yet possible, but Maryland need not worry. *Maryland in World War II: Military Participation* is the narrative of a State that did its share and more, told with corresponding diligence and success.

JAMES H. BREADY.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826-1866, with a Discourse on Wildcat Banks and Wildcat Bank Notes. By WILLIAM H. DILLISTIN. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1949. 175 pp., 19 plates.

Celebration of the Sesquicentennial of Saint Ignatius' Church, at Saint Thomas' Manor, Bel Alton and Port Tobacco, Maryland, September 26, 1948. [By the Rev. HERMAN I. STORCK, S. J.] 1949. 16 pp.

Guide to American Biography. Part I—1607-1815. By MARION DARGAN. Foreword by DUMAS MALONE. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949. 140 pp.

Bering's Successors, 1745-1780: Contributions of Peter Silas Pallas to the History of Russian Exploration Toward Alaska. By JAMES R. MASTERSON and HELEN BROWER. Settle: University of Washington Press, 1948. 96 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PETITION OF DEBTORS CONFINED IN THE JAIL OF BALTIMORE [1]

Council Chamber January 12, '99 [1799]

Gentlemen: [2]

By the direction of the Legislature, I enclose to you a copy of a Petition of sundry Debtors confined in the Jail of Baltimore which was preferred to that Body at their last session

I am with great respect

Your obed Servant

Ben Ogle

[1] In the course of his researches in the City Archives, Mr. William N. Wilkins came across the MS petition printed above. Recognizing its significance as first hand account of prison conditions one hundred and fifty years ago he offered it to the Magazine for publication. Accustomed as we are today to general bankruptcy laws, we are apt to forget that imprisonment for debt was the usual practice in eighteenth century America, and that consequently the signers of this petition were guilty of no greater crime than insolvency.

Upon receiving the petition the legislature appointed a special committee in January, 1800, to examine into the condition reported by the petitioners (*Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates, 1799* (Annapolis, n. d.), p. 108, Jan. 2, 1800). The results of this committee's investigation, unfortunately, do not appear in the published journal of the legislature. Undoubtedly the starting of construction on a new jail in 1800 was regarded as a sufficient reply to the petition.

[2] Letter is addressed to the committee appointed by the Assembly.

To the Honourable The General Assembly of the State of Maryland, the representations of certain of the Debtors confined in the Prison of the City of Baltimore.

When it is considered that in the imperfectability of human Laws, incidental misfortune, the caprice of others and vicious habits may equally operate to the deprivation of personal liberty: it will appear proper, that whilst humanity extends its influence even to the miserable victims to vice, an especial attention should be paid to the feelings of those unfortunate men whom injustice, malice or misfortune may severally consign to the degradations of a prison. To you, Gentlemen, the Guardian of the rights of your fellow Citizens: The protectors, we hope and trust of the unhappy: it appears at this period our duty to address ourselves, and so far as the subject has come within our review, to call your attention to the defects which are apparent in conducting the public Prison of the City of Baltimore—To this measure no selfish motive shall excite us. Were we to be the individual sufferers our pride might overcome the weakness of complaint, might induce us to bear, with firmness that lot, which imprudence or misfortune may have involved. But, when we retrace, now in early expectance of liberation, the caprice to which we have ourselves been exposed when we anticipate the Evils which may arise to our fellow beings, if unchecked these injuries are permitted to accumulate, our sense of duty supersedes every common feeling, and impressed by a principle of right, we step forward the advocates of wounded humanity, we require from your justice that redress, necessary to insure in this miserable place, some small degree of comfort to the unfortunate victims of the laws.

We beg leave to represent to the honorable assembly, the necessity of defining the powers of the Sheriff and of the jailor, and to retain them within their due limits, that individuals be appointed to visit the Prison to inquire into and to remedy grievances. Measures of this kind will appear to the General Assembly not unessential, when incidents, which have fallen beneath our immediate notice, strongly partaking of Tyranny, come to be presented to its review. Some of these evidence an assumption of power in the characters entrusted with the care of this prison, which could never have been contemplated by those from whom they derive their authority.

In perusing the following specifications, we shall leave it to the determination of the honourable assembly, how far the Sheriff is amenable for the acts of the Jailor. It ought we presume to be the duty of characters invested with the trust annexed to this office, by their frequent visits to the Prison to ascertain whether injuries of the present nature exist, and to correct them if requisite.

The individual, who, at present, fills the Sheriffs office, has, we are well assured, during the preceeding nine months, only in one instance visited this place: and from this utter neglect of a duty, not immaterially connected with his office, may perhaps be uninformed of some of the facts hereinafter stated. What effect this ought to have, or whether it may

operate as a palliative of acts, which have militated against the happiness of his fellow beings, we leave to the consideration of the assembly.

We beg leave, in the first place, to enquire, whether the Sheriff or his agents may temper [*sic*] with the lives of the prisoners? whether with intention or no, they may with impunity, be the immediate cause of their destruction?

The case of a German, confined for an inconsiderable debt.

This man from the wretchedness of his poverty, had it not in his power to make those requisite changes in dress essential to the preservation of cleanliness, or to preclude the disgusting concommitants which frequently attach to extreme penury. He might be considered, perhaps, a species of nuisance. This want of cleanliness, however, could easily have been corrected without recurrence to the violent means which the Jailor thought proper to adopt. This poor wretch was dragged from the common apartment of the Debtors, his head and the several parts of his body were shaved, and completely to deprive him, as was asserted, of every semblance of what he was, in the middle of Summer, excited by the confusion naturally attendant on such an operation, and after exposure to a vertical Sun, he was drenched with repeated Bucketts of Water drawn from a well of the depth of 70 feet, and then replaced in his original situation. Within an hour this man was affected by insanity. spasms ensued: and a few hours terminated his existence. An inquest, we are informed, sat upon his Body. What evidence was brought before this Court we know not; but to it a fact which was too palpable appeared not with the horrors it merited, and the wanton distruction of a fellow being was passed bye unnoticed, and unregarded.

We beg leave to inquire whether the Sheriff has the right to cast into the Dungeon, and to load with Irons Prisoners convicted of no actual criminality.

The case of Capt William Smith.

William Smith was confined we understand, from two causes. A case of common debt was one, his being *supposed* guilty of defrauding the revenue, by smuggling Coffee etc was another. This man was admitted to the priviledge of the Debtors appartment, and occupied, partially, the best room of the Prison. Of his own accord, the Jailor thought proper to grant to him the extraordinary priviledge of the yard. He boarded with him. Conscious, we will suppose, of future injury, or impelled by that wish for liberty naturally inherent in man, his sense of rectitude yielded to these operatives and he effected his escape. But this escape was effected not from the Prison but the Yard, when a defect in the House of Office, a back door ocasionally used, tis said by favoured Prisoners and a good opportunity, superseded every other Sentiment, and led to the event. We will not vouch for the purity of this man's principles, nor is it of consequence:—He may be bad, but in this instance the cause of wrong originated with the Jailor, in imprudently granting a priviledge of this nature to a

man with whom he was unacquanted [*sic*], and placing a temptation before his Eyes which purer minds might find a difficulty to repel. The absence of William Smith might extend to twenty four hours. He was recovered, however, cruelly beaten as we are informed, by the Sheriff; by his direction, or at the instance of the Jailor, cast into Irons, consigned to a miserable dungeon, there upon the cold Ground, without even Straw to lie upon, covered with bruises, this unfortunate wretch was left to languish. His leg on which was a wound formerly received, and of which such was the State as to endanger the limb, was permitted to remain undressed for several days. A Prisoner, a M. Chapman, whose humanity induced him to offer his Services for the performance of this office, altho previously possessed of the general priviledge of the Yard, was thrown into close confinement. The Prisoners for debt were after some elapse, permitted to emeliorate [*sic*] somewhat the situation of this unfortunate man and to furnish a Bed. How long he was confined to that Dungeon we know not. He was in time, however, transferred to the Criminal Room, where overwhelmed with Irons, he has since remained.

We shall not take the liberty to comment upon a fact which has filled us with commiseration. To us, however, it appears, that whatever may have been the dishonourable conduct of this individual, in betraying the confidence reposed in him by the Jailor there surely was no established criminality annexed to his acts, which could warrant the barbarous measures we have had the misfortune to witness.

Whether the health and personal comfort of the Debtors may be exposed to the caprice of an ignorant and unfeeling individual? Whether these unfortunate characters may be consigned to the Dungeon or criminal appartment exposed to the unwholsome damps of the first, to the unpleasant concomitants attached to the last. Incidents of this nature have too frequently presented themselves to our view. Some have perhaps, had the plea of necessity, and may have been adopted to correct the riot, intoxication and quarrelling, which occasionally result *from the sale of Spiritous liquors in the Jail.* But, in more than one instance have we witnessed the most unjustifiable assumption of power, and an open contempt for the lives and health of the more respectable Debtors. On an occasion of innocent amusement, which casually interrupted the Jailor, without giving previous notice of disturbance, or of complaint from others, this man has entered, with force, into the first Debtors apartment; he has not merely seized upon those who might be supposed culpable, but has dragged from his bed an individual who had early retired, and because he refused to answer an impertinent demand, he has, by violence conducted him to the Dungeon. As acquantance of this individual for daring to doubt the infallability of this petty Tyrant, and to remonstrate against his injustice, has been treated with similar severity; whilst the Debtors, the victims of his caprice, were overwhelmed with invectives, and exposed to the most abusive threats. Whether privileges of this nature

have been granted by the Laws to characters, proverbially destitute of humanity, we leave to the consideration of the General Assembly.

We beg leave to represent, as a grievance, the right which the Jailor at present exercises of excluding at his will, the friends of the Prisoners. In consequence of this preclusion, the Debtors, in communicating even upon business, are forced in general, to converse in public, at a small, Grate and exposed to every inconvenience.

We beg leave also to point out to the attention of the General Assembly, the right which appears, at the present period, to be vested in the Jailor of excluding entirely from the prison articles which may be essential in sickness, in health requisite to the comfort of the prisoners. Under this class we include wines, cordials, and malt liquors. These articles, are at present, either incapable of being procured at all, or, if supplied, must be purchased from the Jailor, generally of the most indifferent quality, and of the high rates of a Tavern. To individuals with families, already furnished with necessaries of this kind, it appears a real hardship, that they should be prevented supplying themselves from their own houses; and not if inclined to use them either from habit or necessity, be forced to purchase them of the indifferent and prejudicial qualities, and at the most extravagant prices. By this priviledge the office of Jailor has become a sinecure of considerable profit by which an individual prays [*sic*] upon the unfortunate and the needy, and has it in his power, during the period of his service, to amass considerable fortune. It may also be remarked that where it is to the advantage of the Jailor to encourage the consumption of those commodities he has for sale, dangerous consequences may be expected to the health of the inferior prisoners, whilst the Prison is liable to riot, and all the disorders attendant on intoxication. Such effects, we presume could not have been contemplated by the Legislature, in granting this priviledge, nor is it possible that their intention could be to sacrifice the comfort of their unfortunate fellow beings to inrich a single individual or aggrandize a Jailor.

Wishing as far as our feeble ability admits to extend the means of redress to every grade in the Community, we shall take the liberty to present to the attention of the Legislature, certain effects arising from an act respecting runaway Slaves, which, in its formation we presume, could not have been contemplated by the Legislature. Judging by the consequences we have witnessed it appears; that by this act, the Sheriff, or even a petty Constable, is vested with the right of taking up, on suspicion, people of Colour; of committing them to Prison: and there, altho proved to be free, of exposing them to the hardship of either paying the expences incurred, during their unjust confinement, or, if incapacity exist, of making sale of them, for this purpose. By this arrangement, a man, casually of a different colour, and at the moment of arrest, divested of his evidence of freedom, has been seen by us first exposed to the injustice of confinement as a supposed runaway: and when proof was brought forward to prove the reverse, liable to the second injustice, that of either paying the Expences resulting from the aggression of others, or being exposed to a further

confinement, and finally to public sale. Thus by an act directly violating in its effects the fundamental principles of all law, an innocent man may be treated with the severity of a criminal, may be deprived of his personal liberty, loaded with Irons, and finally enslaved.

We represent to your honourable Assembly as evincing the propriety of visitants to the Jail, a consequence, which occasionally results, in cases of poor females, committed by the watch or otherwise, for petty quarrels and disorders of the night. It has repeatedly happened that individuals of this class, committed, perhaps, regularly, but sometimes unjustly, have, altho' no bill has been found against them by the Grand Jury, been from the carelessness of the Sheriff, detained in Prison, from Court to Court, without even the semblance of criminality: as this place cannot be considered corrective of morals, there is no human reason can be assigned for this agression upon the rights of these poor people. The propriety of ascertaining that a regular, an ample and wholesome supply of provisions is granted to that class of prisoners which comes under the denomination of Criminals, calls loudly for the establishment of visitants to the Jail. The sum allowed by the County for this purpose is certainly efficient, if properly directed, but at present, the supply, so far as it has fallen beneath our notice, appear to possess neither of the requesites specified. Three course [*sic*] Biscuits, and an inconsiderable quantity of pease, boiled with the offals of the Butcheries, not unfrequently in a state truly disgusting, is the daily allowance to each Criminal prisoner. The pease from the specimens we have seen, are an open imposition; decayed and worm eaten, unsubstantial and unwholesome.

When it is considered, that in the four rooms occupied by the Prisoners the area of which, taking them collectively amounts not to a square of—feet, upward of—prisoners [3] have during the heats of last Summer, been crouded: it almost exceeds belief, how, with such diet, and with but little attention to cleanliness, decease [*sic*] should have been excluded from the Prison:—The elevated position of the Jail, and the purity of the water, appear to have operated as preventive of those disorders, which might not merely have proven prejudicial to the confined, but extended their baleful influence throughout this populous City.

Of these specifications some perhaps might with propriety have been directed to the attention of a Grand Jury; but the little effect which has resulted from our statements to that Body, induce us to direct our views to a source from which imanates these powers, by the abuse of which various evils have arisen.

We make these general representations, addressing ourselves not less to the feelings than to the understanding of the honorable assembly. We address ourselves with the freedom of men, who, tho' unfortunate, are yet men, divested neither of the priviledge of complaint, nor of those feelings which ought to incite us to repress abuses, which under our Eye, have fallen heavily upon the unfortunate; which have proven partially grievous to ourselves; but which if not remedied, may yet more deeply affect the

[3] Blanks are in original.

peace of those unfortunate men, who shall hereafter be consigned to this miserable place.

Signed

Alex White
Jno. A. Burford
J. Colguhoun
John Dorse
Wm. Paine, Jr.
J. D. Chalabre
John Helm
John Trulock [4]

Prison of the City of Baltimore
December 1799

Copy from the original

Ninian Pinkney
Clerk of the Gov Co'

Parker Prize for Genealogy

The Maryland Historical Society reminds its members and others interested in genealogy that the closing date of the Parker competition for 1950 is December 31, 1950. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal in some degree with a Maryland family or families.

Prizes will be as follows: First Prize, $45; Second Prize, $30; Third Prize, $15.

The award of the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prizes for Maryland Genealogies was established in 1946 and enlarged in 1948 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker as a memorial to her husband and herself. Its purpose is to encourage the gathering and compiling of accurate records of Maryland families. The income from the $2,000 endowment is devoted to cash awards for papers judged on the basis of completeness, authority and arrangement. The usual annual awards will be $30, $20, and $10, or a total of $60.00 per annum. However, since no award was made in 1948, the prize money for that year has been divided equally and added to the awards for 1949 and 1950.

Winners of the award for 1949 were announced in *Maryland History*

---

[4] Of those signing the petitions only three can be found in the City Directories for the years 1796-1810. They are: John Helm (1804), laborer, Pitt St., Old Town; William Paine, Jr. (1800), Pratt St.; John Truelock (1799), cabinet maker, 34 N. Gay St. In the Directory of 1799 a John D. Chalabze, grocer, Fells St., is listed. He may be the " Chalabre " of the petition. Each of the names recorded here appears in one Directory only.

By a special act of the legislature in 1799 William Paine, Jr., Alexander White and John Chalabre, all of Baltimore City, were allowed to become bankrupts. See, *Laws of Maryland, 1799* (Annapolis, n. d.), Chap. 88. John A. Burford was included in a similar act the following year, *Laws of Maryland, 1800* (Annapolis, n. d.), Chap. 44.

Notes for last May. They were as follows: First Prize, Mr. Carl Ross McKenrick for genealogy of the McKenrick family; Second Prize, Mrs. Elwood Williams for genealogy of the John W. Williams family; and Third Prize, Mr. J. Ord Cresap for recent additional material on the Cresap family.

CONTRIBUTORS

Regent of Mt. Vernon Ladies Association, MRS. BEIRNE has long been interested in various aspects of Maryland history and has contributed to the Magazine in the past. ☆ Both MR. ZORNOW and MR. CARROLL have previously contributed to the Magazine. ☆ An artist by profession, MRS. BEADENKOPF assisted her late husband, the Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf in his social work.

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Riversdale — Entrance Front
Prince George's County

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

December · 1950

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VOL. XLV, No. 4 DECEMBER, 1950

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JAMES W. FOSTER, *Editor*

FRED SHELLEY, *Associate Editor*

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

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2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
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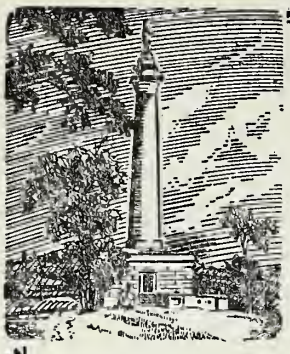

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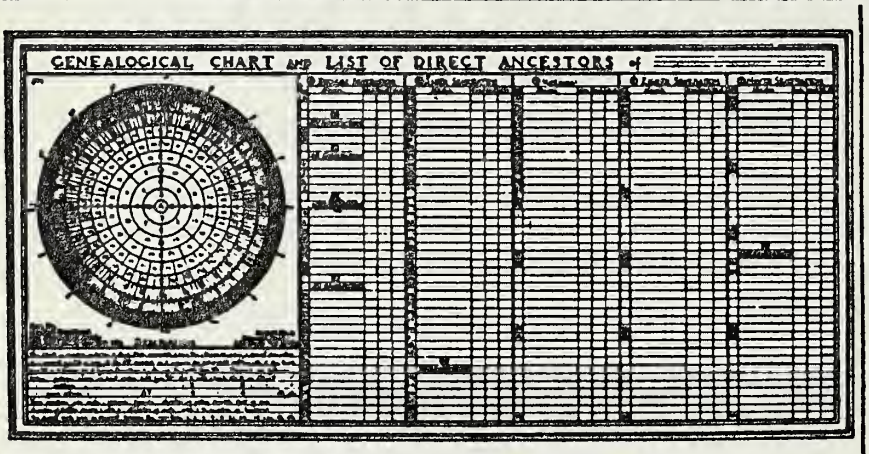

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

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GARDENS AND GARDENING IN EARLY MARYLAND

By Edith Rossiter Bevan

TO LIVE one must eat. The first gardens in Maryland were kitchen gardens—merely plots of ground where vegetables and small fruits were grown in sufficient quantities to last a household throughout the year. It was not until these crops were assured and a degree of leisure attained that "pleasure gardens" were developed.

Every man who landed on the shore of St. Mary's River in the early spring of 1634 had been instructed to bring with him "Seede Wheate, Rie, Barley and Oats, Kernells . . . of Peares and Apples for making thereafter Cider and Perry, [and] the Stones and Seeds of all those fruite and roots and herbes which he desireth to have." [1] Soon the little City of St. Mary's was laid out and each settler was allotted enough ground to build a house and plant a garden at the "backside."

[1] *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684,* edited by Clayton Colman Hall, cited in *Gardens of Colony and State*, compiled and edited for the Garden Club of America by Alice B. Lockwood (New York, 1934), p. 115.

A report of these gardens made a year later states that

> They have made tryall of English Pease, and they grow very well, also Muskmellons, Cowcumbers, with all sorts of garden Roots and Herbes, [such] as Carrots, Parsenips, Turnips, Cabbages, Radish, with many more. . . . They have Peares, Apples and several sorts of Plummes, Peaches in abundance and as good as those of Italy; so are the Mellons and Pumpions; Apricockes, Figgs and Pomegranates flourish exceedingly; they have lately planted Orange and Limon Trees which thrive very well; and in fine there is scarce any fruit that grows in England, France, Spain or Italy but hath been tryed there, and prospers wel. . . .[2]

This may have been sales talk, for a diet that included pomegranates, radishes, cucumbers and melons seems hardly sufficient to sustain a hard-working man. Perhaps those early settlers planted their own personal ideas of a Garden of Eden in the soil of Maryland that spring.

We do not know just how the kitchen gardens were laid out for no description or planting plan of any early garden in Maryland is known today. We know they were generally close to the house and were enclosed by a fence of stout palings which protected the cultivated area from marauding animals. The size of the gardens varied with the number of dependents, but they were of necessity much larger than gardens today.[3] The vegetables were generally planted in short rows and close together for successive crops. Beyond the vegetables were the small fruits; raspberries, gooseberries, strawberries, grapes, etc. Surplus peas, beans and corn were dried for winter cookery; also peaches, currants and grapes (raisins) used in making hearty puddings. The women of the household put up a vast amount of pickles, jams and conserves to augment the rather dreary winter diet. Herbs may have been planted in a special plot in the garden or used as edgings if there were beds and paths. In the autumn they were gathered and dried—borage, basil, sage, thyme and many other "pot herbs" used for flavoring were tied in small bunches and hung from a convenient rafter as were the many medicinal herbs—horehound for coughs, St. John's wort for wounds, chamomile steeped as a hot tea for colds and aches, rue

[2] *A Relation of the Successeful Beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-Land* (London, 1634), cited in Lockwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

[3] The garden at Cold Stream, Mrs. Rebecca Dulany's country seat near Baltimore, covered 7 acres. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser,* Feb. 16, 1801, p. 3, col. 4.

and hyssop and others whose uses are forgotten today. The flowers of lavender were distilled for headaches and neuralgia and dried for sweet scenting the linen of the household.

The tie between the colonists and the mother country was very close and continued so until the Revolutionary War. The early settlers were dependent on England for many of their needs and all their luxuries. What was used in England was soon used in the colonies. Small packets of choice seeds that were ordered from abroad were generally entrusted to the master of a ship and crossed the ocean in the captain's cabin—de luxe passengers. In the hold of the vessel, hidden among the seeds of field crops—grains, grasses and flax—were myriad stowaway seeds of English wild flowers. So happily did they flourish ultimately in American soil that we mistakenly class them as natives today. Queen Anne's Lace, Bouncing Bet, mullein and many wayside plants which brighten our roadsides and meadows were emigrants from England. Seeds of English weeds slipped in also—weeds which flourished only too well and plague us today. Wild mustard, sorrel, plantains, dock and many others arrived unannounced from England.

John Josselyn, English visitor to New England in 1663, recorded the vegetables, herbs and flowers he found growing in gardens there in *New England Raraties Discovered in Birds, Beasts, Fishes and Serpents*, published in London in 1672. The flowers were few: "Sweet Bryar, or Eglantine and English roses, grow pleasantly, White Satten [which we call Honesty today] groweth pretty well, so doth Lavender Cotten, Gilly Flowers, Hollyhocks, Campion and Fetherfew prospereth exceedingly." [4] We may assume these homey English flowers grew in Maryland gardens also and we know that daffodils flourished in Maryland soil for the descendants of these small bulbs still gladden our hearts in early spring. Like the proverbial Topsy, these old favorites just grew and required little attention. The colonial housewife had scant time to devote to growing flowers merely for pleasure. Her duties were manifold. She supervised the hackling of flax from which the linen sheets and shirts were made. She oversaw the spinning and weaving for the household; the making of candles and soap and butter and cheese as well as training and directing the work of her servants and slaves.

[4] Josselyn's list is printed in L. H. Bailey, *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture*, (3 vols., New York, 1927), II, 1504.

Josselyn's list of vegetables included with few exceptions those we grow today. Native to America were potatoes, pumpkins, squash, Jerusalem artichokes and corn which were grown by the Indians long before the coming of the white settlers. He does not mention okra which came to America from Africa, possibly brought over by slave ships and noted by Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, published in Paris, 1784-85.[5] Nor does he list peppers or tomatoes which were native to the New World. The Spaniards found them in Central America and took them back to Spain where they became very popular. John Gerard, whose *Herball, or Generall Historie of Plantes*,[6] was first published in London in 1507, mentions both red and yellow varieties of tomatoes but states "they yield very little nourishment to the body." Mr. Gerard did not know as much about vitamins as housewives today.

There was evidently a deep-seated prejudice against tomatoes in England, where for many years they were considered poisonous. Known as "Love Apples," they were grown as oddities or ornamental vines. This prejudice continued with the colonists and it was not until the 1820's that this general feeling of distrust was overcome and tomato seed was listed in commercial catalogues. Jefferson's carefully kept planting record of the garden at Monticello shows he began growing them in 1809, but he had lived in France where they were used extensively.[7] A letter written in 1794 by David Bryan, farmer for General Otho H. Williams, informs him that he had bought a bushel of seed for £1 for planting on the General's estate in Western Maryland. We wonder where he purchased the seed and who ate the tomatoes.[8]

Descriptions of the flora and fauna of the New World excited the interest of many scientists and botanists of England and Europe. Travelers to the colonies were requested to bring back seeds and slips which were planted with great respect in many foreign gardens. It became the fashion of the day for men of culture and wealth to display "curiosities" from America in cabinets for their friends to admire. Few people today realize how much our colonial

[5] Page 648.

[6] *Gerard's Herball, the Essence thereof distilled*, by Marcus Woodward, from the edition of Th. Johnson, 1636 (Boston, 1928), pp. 79-81.

[7] *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book*, annotated by Edwin Morris Betts. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), p. 422.

[8] Otho Holland Williams Papers, Vol. VIII, No. 851, Maryland Historical Society (thanks to Dr. Elizabeth Merritt).

gardens were indebted to Peter Collinson (1694-1768), wealthy Quaker merchant of London and amateur botanist of note. His interest and curiosity about the flora and fauna of America seemed insatiable. He corresponded with many people on the eastern seaboard, requesting them to send him roots, nuts, seeds of native trees, shrubs and flowers which grew with great success in his garden at Ridgeway House, Middlesex, which was famous in his day. In return for these favors he took infinite pains to fill the requests that came to him and without any recompense sent many rare seeds and bulbs and roots to American gardens. "I could not refuse them their requests because I had the public good at heart," he wrote in his memoir.[9] Collinson was a true benefactor to many gardens in America and it seems a shame that we honored him by giving his name to a horticulturally unimportant member of the mint family. *Collinsonia*, commonly known as horse-balm or horse-weed, seems hardly worthy of the man.

Carefully preserved by the Hollyday family of the Eastern Shore and now part of the Hollyday Papers at the Maryland Historical Society are letters written by Collinson to Mrs. Henrietta Maria (Tilghman) Robins Goldsborough (1707-1771) of Peach Blossom, Talbot County. These letters, which descended to her eldest daughter, Anna Maria Robins who married Henry Hollyday of Ratcliffe Manor on the Tred Avon River, prove Mrs. Goldsborough to have been a serious-minded gardener and an exception to the general rule.

She was the daughter of Richard Tilghman II of the Hermitage, Queen Anne's County and Anna Maria Lloyd of Wye House, Talbot County. From her parents she probably inherited her knowledge and love of gardening, for both these old estates are today notable for fine planting. In 1731 she married George Robins, III, whose 1000-acre estate lay between Peach Blossom and Trappe's Creek and the Tred Avon River. Robins is credited with having planted the first peaches grown on the Eastern Shore. "The blossoms created such a sensation in the neighborhood that the name Peach Blossom came to be applied both to the Robins house and the creek. The house no longer stands."[10] Five years

[9] Earl G. Swem, "Brothers of the Spade," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 58, Part 1 (Worcester, Mass., 1948), p. 21. See footnote 10 in "Brothers of the Spade."

[10] Roberta Bolling Henry, "Robert Goldsborough of Ashby and His Six Sons," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (September, 1941), 327-331. Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), p. 223.

after Robins death in 1742, his wealthy widow married Judge William Goldsborough, son of Robert Goldsborough of Ashby, and Peach Blossom continued to be the family home.

The earliest letter is to George Robins, dated London, October 21, 1721. It is a business letter, but in a postcript Collinson hopes that Robins will remember him by sending some " shells, curious Stones, Insects and a huming Bird Dry'd in Its feathers."

In 1751 Collinson sent Mrs. Goldsborough 3 boxes of roots and bulbs with directions for their planting. " Ranunculas, Anemones, Tulips, Piony, Imperials, [probably Crown Imperials, *Fritillaria imperialis*] Artichoak, Hellebore, [probably *H. niger,* the Christmas Rose] and Colchicum, [Autumn crocus]."

The next year he sent her angelica and other seeds and thanked her for the pretty hummingbird. " If Chestnuts and Chinquapins grow near you," he begs the favor of sending him " some Nutts, and makeing a Layer of Nutts & then a layer of Dry Sand or earth and so continue until the Box is full." In January, 1761, he thanked Mrs. Goldsborough for her noble present of two delicious hams and for the yucca seed. He is pleased to hear that the peach stones he sent have borne fruit. By Captain Brook he is sending the seeds she requested and others will follow by Mr. Hanbury's ship.

The last letter is dated February 1, 1764. He enclosed seed of Pyracantha or evergreen thorn and Fraxinella (Burning Bush). He warns her that seeds may lie dormant for a couple of years and advises her to " fence a place with Sticks about a foot long and make a little Pallissado; to keep it free from weeds until the seeds germinate." With this excellent and friendly advice the correspondence ends.

Collinson's long and interesting correspondence with John Custis of Virginia (1678-1749) has been admirably annotated by Dr. Earl G. Swem, with fine bibliography and index.[11] Custis' four acre garden in Williamsburg was one of the few gardens in America devoted to growing plants for enjoyment and scientific interest. He may have been considered eccentric by his neighbors but his letters to Collinson are of great value today to anyone interested in studying plant material used in colonial gardens.

Another American friend of Collinson's was John Bartram (1699-1777), a Quaker farmer with a natural aptitude for botany,

[11] Swem, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-108.

who in 1728 established the first botanic garden in America on his farm on the Schuylkill River near Philadelphia. For over 40 year he corresponded with Collinson and with many of the leading botanists in Europe. He became their chief medium of exchange for seeds and plant material. Bartram's tireless quest for the rare and beautiful took him to the mountains of New York, through New Jersey and in 1737 to the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia.

Before he started on this trip, Collinson sent him letters and seeds for " two particular friends " of his on the Eastern Shore of Maryland—James Hollyday on Chester River and George Robins on Choptank River.[12] Unfortunately Bartram's letter to Collinson telling him of his visit of Readbourne, Col. Hollyday's estate, and to Peach Blossom, has been lost. Without question he delivered the letters. Collinson wrote him on January 27, 1738: " I had the pleasure of thine from Maryland. I am glad my friends were kind to thee and that thee found fresh matter of entertainment . . . the two boxes of seeds, two boxes of plants, one box of specimens, box wasp's nest, came safe and in perfect good order " [13] and again on April 6, 1738, Collinson wrote: " I am glad thee met with such civil treatment on the Eastern Shore." He mentions the safe arrival of the terrapins that Bartram had sent him by his friend Thomas Bond,[14] but the fifteen turtle eggs were " damnified " and though they actually hatched in London, did not live long.

In 1738 Bartram took a trip to the mountains of Virginia in search of new plant material, passing through the Western Shore of Maryland. Collinson hoped he would stop at Robert Gover's place to see " the Cliff from whence the angular stones were taken, which are so curiously formed in squares that far exceed the lapidary's art." [15] Gover had probably sent Collinson small bits of the fossil formation from the well known cliffs of Calvert County. Bartram reported Gover's recent death and did not stop.

Bartram's unique garden grew in interest with the passing

[12] William Darlington, *Memorial of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall* (Philadelphia 1849), pp. 110, 120-22.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-113, 120-122.

[14] Born in Calvert Co., Maryland, in 1721, Bond studied medicine under Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis and in Paris. He returned to America about 1734 and practiced in Philadelphia where he died in 1784. *Dictionary of American Biography,* II, 433-34. A letter from Bond to Bartram is dated Paris, Feb. 20, 1738.

[15] Darlington, *op. cit.,* pp. 363-364.

years. It was an inspiration and education to all who visited it and its influence on 18th century gardens cannot be overestimated. Happily this ancient garden has been recently restored and is now preserved as part of the Philadelphia park system.

There were always a few owners of large plantations who were interested in making their estates beautiful as well as productive, but most of the large land owners in Maryland in the early days were interested in agriculture—not in horticulture or in beautifying the grounds of their estates. They experimented in growing new crops and in trying out new methods of farming.

The first commercial nursery for the distribution of imported fruit trees was established in 1730 by Robert Prince at Flushing, Long Island.[16] However, the delivery of mail and transportation between Maryland and New York was slow and uncertain. It was probably easier for people in Maryland to order nursery stock and seeds through their English agents. Maryland tobacco and iron was shipped to London and when sold the shipper drew against his credit there. The returning vessels brought the ordered articles to the dock at Annapolis or to other Chesapeake ports.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, sent his agents in London long lists of clothing for himself and his wife, furniture, draperies, china and silver for Mount Clare, which he asked them to purchase. He ordered not only books on gardening and husbandry but vegetable seeds and fruit trees for planting at his country seat.[17]

His chief agent, William Anderson, merchant, was married to Rebecca Lloyd, a Maryland girl and cousin of Carroll's wife, Margaret Tilghman. In 1764, a year after the marriage of Carroll and Miss Tilghman, they began their custom of spending the summer months at Mount Clare, returning to Annapolis for the winter season of gaiety. Carroll devoted much time to the development of his country estate and in a letter to Anderson calls himself "an experiment-making farmer." His orders included many varieties of field seeds—ten varieties of grass seed—enough to sow an acre or less—for experimental purposes, as well as seeds for his vegetable garden. In 1764-66 he ordered broccoli, "colleflower," celery seed and an ounce of the finest "Cantalioup Melion seed," also "asparagus seed enough for 3 or 4 beds, 30

[16] Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 1517.

[17] W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXI (1936), 112-126, and "Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister," *ibid.*, 298-332, and subsequent volumes through XXXVIII (1943).

feet long and 6 ft. Broad, or Roots if they can be got and safely sent."

In a letter to Anderson, dated July 20, 1767, he mentioned that Mrs. Carroll took much pleasure in gardening and enclosed a list of peach stones she wanted. " Each of which she would be Glad if you could send these stones tied up in Different Parcels and the names of Each wrote on the Parcel." Mrs. Carroll must have been a true gardener to ask for named varieties hearly two hundred years ago. But perhaps a Tilghman from the Eastern Shore would be a gardener without peer.

Carroll wrote to his agents in Bristol in January, 1768, asking their aid in procuring a gardener for Mount Clare.

> I am in want of a Gardener that understands a Kitchen Garden well and Grafting, Budding, Inoculating and the Management of an orchard and Fruit Trees Pretty Well. . . . If you can meet with such a one who will ship himself under Indenture to serve me as above for four or five years, I will pay the usual Expenses of his Passage and Allow him Reasonable Annual Wages, which I suppose Considering I Pay his Passage, will not be above five or six pounds Sterling per Annum. There come in Gardeners in every Branch from Scotland at Six pounds a year.

The gardener evidently arrived and proved satisfactory for in July of that year Carroll ordered through William and James Anderson (son of William) 56 fruit trees, named varieties of plums, apricots, nectarines, cherries and pears. He specified that the trees were to be " from graft or bud and three years old, or as old as they could be and moved safely." That summer Carroll ordered through his agents in Maderia, Scott, Pringle & Co., vines of the best and largest black and white eating grapes. " Not the Cuttings, but the Vine with the Root to it, and put up in a Box with a little Mold that may preserve them." He asked them to send " one or Two Bearing Lemon Trees in Boxes with earth and two or three of any other trees of Good Fruit you think we can manage in this climate with the help of a Greenhouse."

Like the orangery at Hampton, the Ridgely estate in Baltimore County, which today is only a memory and that at Wye House in Talbot County, still extant but no longer used, the earliest greenhouses in Maryland were built for winter protection of tubbed orange and lemon trees and other tender plants, rather than for propagating purposes. The orangery at Wye is unique in Mary-

land in having a low second story above the central part of the building. In England sleeping quarters placed above the greenhouse were not uncommon. They gave added protection to the plants below which might otherwise freeze through the roof. We wonder how the gardener or servants fared in cold weather. After the Barrister's death in 1783, Mrs. Carroll continued to live at Mount Clare until her death in 1817. By her will she left her greenhouse and the plants therein, valued at $250 in the inventory of her estate, to James Carroll, the Barrister's nephew, who inherited the property.[18] Whether this was the same greenhouse mentioned by Carroll in 1768 is not known.

No later letter books of Barrister Carroll have been found. Tradition credits Mount Clare with being one of the outstanding country seats of its day, but no description of the garden or grounds has been found other than the few lines which John Adams wrote in his diary on February 23, 1777, when a delegate to the Continental Congress which met in Baltimore that winter. "[The house] is one mile from the water. There is a most beautiful walk from the house down to the water; there is a descent not far from the house; you have a fine garden then you descend a few steps and have another fine garden; you go down a few more and have another." [19] This much-quoted description of the "falls" or terraces at Mount Clare must have been written largely from hearsay for Adams's only view of the house was on a Sunday afternoon walk to Ferry Branch where there was a ferry from Baltimore on the road to Annapolis—well over a mile distant from the Barrister's home.

Of the Barrister's home in Annapolis very little is known. The house stood on the slope of Green Street, overlooking the harbor until about the turn of the 20th century when it was demolished to build the present public school. Presumably it had a garden, for in 1769, William Eddis, Surveyor of Customs at Annapolis, likened the city to an agreeable village with open spaces between the houses. Most of the habitations, he wrote, had well-stocked gardens—some of them planted in decent style.[20] On the edge of the town were the homes of men of culture and wealth who were closely connected with the so called "Court Party." Their fine

[18] Baltimore City Court House, Wills # 3, f. 503.
[19] *Works of John Adams*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, II (Boston, 1850), 435.
[20] William Eddis, *Letters from America* . . . (London, 1792), p. 17 *ff.*

brick Georgian residences, a few of which survive today, were at that time surrounded by ample grounds which in some cases extended to a private wharf on a water front. These men were in close touch with England; they knew what was the fashion there and we can feel sure that the sophisticated owners of these beautiful houses had gardens befitting their homes.

Dr. Samuel Dick, delegate from New Jersey to Continental Congress, which met in Annapolis, 1783-84, described the city in a letter to a friend as having about 300 houses, " some of them Superb and Magnificent with corresponding Gardens and Improvements." [21] The Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, who visited Annapolis in 1797, noted in his journal that many of the spacious houses had fine gardens in better order than any he had seen in America.[22] This was indeed high praise from a gentleman of discernment who had toured America for three years, stopping at all the important cities from Maine to Charleston, S. C. Few traces of eighteenth century gardens remain in Annapolis today, for as the city expanded, many of these pleasant gardens were sacrificed as building lots.

The house of Edmund Jennings, Secretary of the Province, stood northeast of the State House on land now part of the grounds of the Naval Academy. He returned to England in 1754 but we know that for three years he had employed " an extraordinary good Gardener. . . A thorough Master of his Business and well understands the laying out of new work or anything belonging to a Garden." [23] Jennings died at Bath two years later and his house was rented as the official residence of Governor Horatio Sharpe until 1769 when he was succeeded by Governor Robert Eden. Sharpe retired to his country seat, White Hall, a house of unsurpassed beauty which he built in 1765 for a summer retreat. Here he lived the pleasant life of a Maryland gentleman—entertaining his friends, interested in developing his farm, his stable of race horses, and in laying out a garden between the house and the bay. The garden at White Hall today is obviously modern, but the plan and planting are suitable to a house of that period. A tree box (*buxus arborescens*) which towers above the roof of a

[21] Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1937), VII, 472.

[22] Rochefoucault-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America, 1795-97*, III (London, 1800), 580.

[23] *Maryland Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1752, p. 4, col. 1.

small covered well at one side of the garden is undoubtedly a survival of an early day.

Governor Eden purchased the Jennings house from the heirs and resided there until he returned to England in 1777. Of this house Eddis wrote in the autumn of 1769: " The Governor's house is most beautifully situated. . . . The garden is not extensive, but it is desposed to the utmost advantage; the center walk is terminated by a small green mount, close to which the Severn approaches; this elevation commands an extensive view of the bay and adjacent country." [24]

William Paca, one of the leading legal lights of that day, in 1763 built a handsome brick dwelling on Prince George Street, which still stands and is now the front section of the Sheraton-Carvel Hall Hotel. Paca's home was Wye Plantation on the Eastern Shore, and this city residence he built for his bride, Mary Chew. The grounds behind the Paca house extended to a little inlet which opened on the Severn River. There he docked his barge, rowed by Negro slaves, which carried him from shore to shore and up and down the Bay. Elihu S. Riley, historian of Annapolis, describes Paca's garden but fails to give the source of his information. Extensive shrubbery, he says, gave it privacy; trees gave shade to an octagonal two-storey summer house that represented " My Lady's Bower "; a spring house and an artificial brook fed by two springs rippled along to a bath house " that refreshed in the sultry days and gave delight to the occupants." [25] Possibly this garden was a Maryland adaptation of the romantic-naturalistic gardens which were popular in England about this time. These gardens were informal in plan; they stressed massed plantings of shrubbery and included many artifical features such as running brooks, cascades, summer houses and even Chinese pagodas.

We know that in former days the grounds of the Hammond-Harwood house extended to meet the Paca property and that the vegetable garden of the Harwood family was at this end of their land. The fine boxwood at the lower end of the grounds today was planted by Mrs. Richard Loockerman, who in 1811, by gift

[24] *Letters, loc. cit.*
[25] *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 307.

of her father, Judge Jeremiah Townley Chase, became the owner of the house built by Mathias Hammond in 1774.[26]

Across the street from the Hammond-Harwood house stands the large three-story brick house known today as the Chase house. Samuel Chase commenced building this house in 1769, but two years later sold it, still unfinished, to Col. Edward Lloyd, IV, who completed it. For many years it was the city residence of the Lloyd family of the Eastern Shore. Nothing is known of the garden there. The Lloyd's garden at Wye was without doubt the finest in the State. Perhaps they needed no other.

The house built by John Ridout in 1763 still stands on the high ground of Duke of Gloucester Street, overlooking the harbor. It is said that this property extended to the harbor at that time. Today it extends only as far as the grounds of the public school. Ridout, who accompanied Governor Sharpe to Annapolis in 1753 as his private secretary, became a member of the Governor's Council and married Mary Ogle, daughter of the late Governor. For her he built this fine brick house which is still occupied by their descendants. The lot is wide and deep; the ground slopes away from the house. Steps lead from a portico at the rear of the house to a terrace which extends the length of the house. The ground below this terrace is broken by three shallow "falls" which in former days were probably planted with flowers. Below these now faintly discernible terraces the lawn slopes gently to the lower end of the lot. Centered on the portico is a wide grass path bordered by beds of shrubbery—lilacs, altheas, crape myrtle, etc., not ancient or even very old, but they probably give much the same effect as when Ridout planned his garden. Only the tall trees at the edge of the lawn, with ivy covering their trunks, are old.

Still standing on Shipwright Street at the head of Revell Street is the mellow brick house built by Dr. Upton Scott who came to Annapolis in 1753 as Governor Sharpe's private physician. Tradition states that this house which Scott built about 1765 originally fronted east and that the door at the rear of the house today, which opens on a wide expanse of lawn, was formerly the front entrance. This may be true, for this facade of the house with small hooded porch is more elaborate than the rather severe front on Shipwright

[26] *Ibid.* Box was not introduced in quantity until the late eighteenth century. Many gardens with magificent box, which we call "ancient," actually date from after 1800. See Richardson Wright, *Story of Gardening* (Garden City, L. I., 1934), p. 352-353.

Street. Tradition also states that Scott's property originally extended to Spa Creek, and that the Doctor's flower and vegetable garden lay on what is now the slope of Revell Street. Like Governor Sharpe and his friend John Ridout, Dr. Scott was an ardent gardener and horticulturist and spent many happy hours improving his garden. This was the garden that Francis Scott Key knew well for Mrs. Scott (Elizabeth Ross) was his great-aunt and for seven years he lived at the Scott home while attending St. John's College where he graduated in 1796. A letter written by Mrs. Scott in 1802, laments a wet summer with no sunshine which had spoiled all their fruit. " Our vines loaded with grapes, all mouldering, & apples rotting, peaches almost gone." [27] The diary of David Baillie Warden who dined at the Scotts' in 1811, before sailing from Annapolis to become Secretary of the American Legation at Paris, mentions the doctor's interest in botany and the many rare shrubs and plants in his garden and greenhouse.[28] Needless to say, no traces of greenhouse or rare plants remain today. Since 1880 the property has been owned by the Sisters of Notre Dame. The " garden " of the Convent today consists of a well-kept lawn surrounded by a high brick wall and some old but not aged boxwood. A wide brick path, probably old, bisects the lawn from the porch to a shrub-planted terrace at the lower end of the grounds.

The large brick house in which Charles Carroll, the Signer, was born in 1737 still stands on the sloping ground between Duke of Gloucester and Shipwright Streets. It was to this house that Carroll returned in 1765 after completing his education in Europe and it continued to be his Annapolis home until 1820 when he moved to Baltimore where his three children were living. This old house with a ballroom forty feet long on the second floor was the scene of many entertainments in Carroll's day for he was noted for his fine hospitality. The ball room is now a chapel, for the property was deeded to the Redemptorist order in 1851 by Carroll's granddaughter, Mrs. Emily (Caton) MacTavish. The spacious grounds today are partly enclosed by a high brick wall and only the rear of the house is visible from Shipwright Street. Visible also, and unchanged, are the long terraces or falls, edged with boxwood, which once led to Carroll's private wharf on Spa Creek.

[27] Mrs Scott to Mrs. Maynadier, collection Maryland Historical Society.
[28] " Journal of a Voyage," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XI (1916), 132.

These magnificent borders of billowy box remain today a living reminder and fine example of an eighteenth century terraced garden and prove the good taste in which these old gardens were laid out.

We know there were small backyard gardens in Annapolis also in which their owners took great pleasure and pride. The delightfully gossipy diary kept by William Faris (1728-1804), celebrated silversmith of that city, recorded not only the daily happenings in the town, but carefully noted among the deaths, births and marriages various gifts of seeds and roots and bulbs by neighbors and friends: " 1795. May 25. Sowed Brussels sprouts from Mr. Maynadier—a sort of cabbage seed from the Governor. Miss Mariah Thomas made me a present of between 20 and 30 silk worms; 1800., Sept 4, Sowed the Dutch tulip I got from Dr. Scott." [29]

Tulips were apparently his favorite flower for on May 19, 1797, he wrote: " broke off 56 stalks, which makes the whole number 1956." What a brave show they must have made in his backyard garden that spring! Whether he grew bulbs for sale we do not know. In his account book under date of October 23, 1799, he wrote " 40 Doll's of Mr. John Quynn for tulip roots £15:0:0." [30] Quite possibly he felt his years were creeping up on him and disposed of his stock, for there are few items relating to his garden after 1800.

Annapolis too was growing older and perhaps discouraged, for in the several decades following the close of the Revolutionary War, Baltimore outstripped her old rival and became the chief port in Maryland. Especially fortunate were some of the Baltimore merchants who amassed sizable fortunes in the shipping business. It became the fashion for these merchant princes, as they were called, to own a country seat adjacent to the city where they spent the humid months of summer. There they enjoyed the first June peas from their well-stocked gardens and entertained their friends at strawberry and cherry parties followed by ices and dancing. Gradually the owners of these fine estates became interested in landscaping the grounds of their country seats and many fine

[29] " Extracts from the Diary of William Faris of Annapolis, Maryland, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII, No. 3 (September, 1933), pp. 197-244.

[30] Faris-McParlin Account Book, 1790-1800, collection Maryland Historical Society.

specimen trees, a few of which still survive, notably at Hampton, the Ridgely estate in Baltimore County, were planted about this time. Gardens were laid out to show to advantage the many new varieties of flowering plants, roses and shrubs which began to be introduced here from England and the Orient after the close of the Revolution.

What man or woman could resist buying something from Peter Bellet, seedsman and florist, who advertised in the *Maryland Journal*, January 24, 1786, that

> he has yet on hand an extensive variety of the most rare bulbous Flowers and Seeds which have not been known before in this Country. He has also just imported from Amsterdan, the most beautiful Rununculas, a variety of 120 Sorts, in all Colours; 60 Sorts of double Anemonies; 25 Sorts of monthly Rose Trees; 11 Sorts of Jessamines; 22 Sorts of Carnations; 11 Sorts of rare bulbous Pyamids; 8 Sorts of Passeetouts; 8 Sorts of Tube-Roses, 8 Sorts of Taracelles; all sorts of Tulip seed, 16 sorts of Narcissus; 20 sorts of double jonquils, the most rare and in all colours; Hyacinths of the very best Sorts; 46 Sorts of Flower Seeds; all sorts of Fresh garden seeds; and Colliflower. He has also for sale very elegant artificial Flowers and Feathers, suitable for the Ladies. . . . Please apply immediately at his Lodgings, at the Sign of the Lamb, in Charles St., French-Town, as he intends to return to his store in Philadelphia in a few Days.

Harlem, the country seat of Adrian Valck, a Hollander who settled in Baltimore after the Revolutionary War, must have ranked with the finest estates of that day. Valck met with business reverses and in June. 1800, his 31-acre property was sold by auction to William Lorman. Quite probably his garden and grounds were laid out in the Dutch style with which he was familiar. The auctioneer's advertisement of his property mentions:

> A large garden in the highest state of cultivation, laid out in numerous and convenient walks and squares bordered with espaliers, on which for many years past, the greatest variety of fruit trees, the choicest fruits from the best nurseries in this country and Europe have been attentively and successfully cultivated. . . . Behind the garden is a grove and shrubbery or bosquet planted with a great variety of the finest forest trees, oderiferous & other flowering shrubs etc.

Mentioned also was a kitchen garden fenced with planks and paling, a complete greenhouse, 2 hot beds with 12 movable frames and on an eminence was a pavillion, under which was " a well-constructed ice vault." [31]

[31] *Federal Gazette,* June 14, 1800.

This property, which included a brick dwelling house, a brick gardener's house, a brick stable for 7 horses and 12 cows, a frame stable and carriage house, a dairy laid in marble and a " pidgeon " house, was sold the next year by Lorman to Capt. George Stiles for $15,000. Stiles in 1815 sold the estate to Thomas Edmondson.

Surviving today is an oil painting of Harlem painted in 1834-35 by Nicolino V. Calyo for Mr. Edmondson.[32] It shows a well kept lawn bordered with shrubs and flower beds; enclosing the whole area are stately shade trees. On a rise of ground opposite the entrance door of the house is the graceful pavillion with ice vault beneath it, built by Valck, and at the edge of the lawn is the large, very high greenhouse, presumably the one built by Valck. Dr. Thomas Edmondson, Jr., who inherited the property, was an early member of the Maryland Horticultural Society and is said to have been more interested in fine arts and horticulture than in medicine. After his death in 1856 many of the rare exotic plants in his greenhouse were purchased by Thomas Winans for his recently completed manison, Alexandroffsky.[33] By his will Dr. Edmondson left about ten acres of his 36-acre estate to the City for a public park, known today as Harlem Square in northwest Baltimore.

The years following the end of the Revolutionary War saw the growth of the nursery and seed business in America. Prince's Nursery at Flushing, L. I. at that time was the leading nursery in the States. It continued to expand and under the proprietorship of William Prince [34] (1766-1842), a grandson or the founder who inherited the nursery in 1802, it reached the height of its fame. He continued the importation of foreign fruit trees and in his catalogue for 1825 listed over 100 varieties of apples and pears, 75 varieties of peaches and over 50 varieties of cherries and plums as well as apricots, nectarines and quinces. Americans took their fruit growing very seriously in those days. Prince also introduced to American gardens many of the fine ornamental trees and shrubs which we take for granted today. Later he became deeply interested in floriculture, especially in new kinds and varieties of roses, dahlias and geraniums; by 1834 he was

[32] See *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland, Catalogue of Exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art* (1945), p. 48.

[33] Information about the Edmondson sale of plants was given by Mr. James E. Steuart, descendant of Dr. Edmondson.

[34] Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 1517.

growing 250 varieties of the latter, 600 varieties of dahlias and 700 varieties of roses. An astonishing number compared to the listings of leading nurserymen and specialists today.

Marylanders knew Prince's Nursery well for items from it are found in old account books, diaries and in advertisements of sales of orchards. He undoubtedly gave his customers good measure for it is said that he conducted his nursery more for pleasure than for profit. When he found someone whose interest and enthusiasm in new and unusual plant material equalled his own, he gave liberally of his finest stock. General Thomas Marsh Forman (1758-1845) of Rose Hill, Cecil County, was without doubt a kindred spirit for between 1825 and 1828 he recorded over 60 "presents from Mr. Prince."[35] Many varieties of rare trees and shrubs and countless numbers of fruit and nut trees were sent from the nursery at Flushing to Rose Hill. A number of these fine specimen trees survive today—three English yews received by the General in 1825 are said to be the largest in America and a magnificent *magnolia acuminata* (cucumber tree) is certainly worthy of listing in Maryland's record of biggest trees, prepared by the Forestry Department. General Forman's notebook, "Nursery & Grafting, Budding & Planting," now in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society, is a running record of nearly twenty years of his activities and interests at Rose Hill and of his "presents" from nurserymen and purchased nursery material. One wishes he had been more graphic in his recordings, for he gives no clue to the planting plan at Rose Hill. It is only from Mrs. Forman's diary that we learn that 32 rose bushes bordered the path leading to the garden and to enclose the "privy" she had planted "a Cherokee rose, a monthly rose, a jessamine, a hundred leaf rose, the Rose of Cassia, honeysuckle, sweet-scented shrub and Spannish broom"; on the south front of the house she had planted a multiflora rose and honeysuckle.[36]

Forman, who descended from Robert Forman, founder of Flushing, L. I., was the son of Ezekiel Forman of Kent County.[37] Rose Hill on Sassafras Neck, was the home of Thomas Marsh, his maternal grandfather from whom he inherited the estate after the Revolution. Forman saw action at the battles of Trenton and

[35] Notebook cited in Lockwood, *op. cit.*, 169-172.
[36] Collection Maryland Historical Society.
[37] Henry Chandlee Forman, *Early Manors and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, Md., 1934), p. 237.

Princeton and spent the long winter at Valley Forge. Part of the time he served as aide to General William Alexander, usually known as Lord stirling. Little is known of his first wife who was a Philadelphian. For her he built a three story brick addition, only three bays wide but 44 ft. long, which joins the low frame dwelling built a century before by his grandfather, making a " T " shaped house. Viewed from the east the long brick side of the house with its two massive chimneys and captain's walk is quite impressive. The north and south façades of the house are identical and slightly reminiscent of Myrtle Grove, the fine frame and brick house of the Goldsborough-Henry family in Talbot County, but Rose Hill lacks the excellent proportions of that old home. Shoulder-high box bushes grow against the foundation walls of Rose Hill today. When they were placed there is not known. The house is beautifully located on a ridge which commands a fine view of rolling fields and woodland. South of the house the land has been cleared and slopes to a view of a creek some fields distant—a view which lingers long in one's memory. On the wide lawn north and west of the house are a number of fine specimen trees of great age. Century-old evergreens and gigantic hollies; a willow oak, (*salix Phellos*) with a girth well over 16 ft. A few European lindens still mark what was once a long walk which led to the formal garden west of the house. This terraced garden, which is laid out in three levels, measures 282 x 180 ft. Once it was entirely edged with box as were the paths and circles of the plan. Today the box is hedge-high and though some bushes are missing, much still remains and so luxurious is its growth in the shade of ancient trees that many of the paths are entirely closed. No flowers bloom in this entirely green garden today.

General Forman, who was the first president of the Maryland Jockey Club, founded in 1830, is chiefly remembered for his interest in fine horses and for his racing stable. In the shadow of a small grove of Italian stone pines are the lonely graves of several of his jockeys. One stone which bears the date 1790 is in memory of Thomas Oakes, a native of Great Britain who died in his forty-third year. Just when and why the General became interested in beautifying his estate is not known.

In 1814, a few months before he took command of his brigade in Baltimore for the defense of the City, he married again. His second wife was Martha Brown (Ogle) Callender, a handsome

widow from Christiana, Delaware, who was his junior by thirty years. Her diary, which she kept from 1814 to 1820, now at the Maryland Historical Society, records day by day her busy, happy life on this pleasant and prosperous plantation. She often rode with the General to inspect their fields of wheat and tobacco and drove with him in their coach and four to Chestertown; occasionally they visited nearby neighbors in their canoe. Many friends came to spend the day at Rose Hill and she entertained frequently when the strawberries, cherries and peaches were at their best. Her inventory of the silver, glass and china at Rose Hill is most interesting and one wishes she had made as careful a record of the planting in the garden. She notes the date they picked the first radishes and peas and when they had a killing frost; she laments over a long drought in the summer of 1819 which killed many trees and shrubs but mentions the flower garden very casually: " March 19th—crocuses begining to make their appearance." One year their lawn was mowed as early as May 11th: " it really looks very beautiful." The record of preserves she put up shows that every known kind of fruit was grown in the Rose Hill orchards. She mentions gathering sweet and bitter almonds from trees the General raised from seed, and in 1817 she writes of a long walk they took to gather some chestnuts. Two years later she noted: " 759 chestnuts grew out of 1½ bushels planted. The squirrels having taken all the rest." We wonder if they were the Spanish chestnuts that were planted in a long avenue for which Rose Hill was famous in later years.[38] Not one remains today for they, too, were victims of the chestnut blight which destroyed native chestnut trees in the first quarter of this century.

In 1818 her diary records planting 1400 cuttings of box-wood. Possibly these were made for the formal box garden which was one of the glories of Rose Hill. Box can do a lot of growing in 125 years. From her account of a gala supper party at Rose Hill in June, 1819, we know there were roses in the garden for she used them with a lavish hand on her table. Her centerpiece was a silver goblet of ice cream decorated with a half-blown Moss rose; roses ornamented silver " boles of Island "; four glass dishes of the first strawberries of the year were flanked by plates of custard and pink porcupine rice. Supplementing this array of food were four

[38] Spanish, or European chestnuts were introduced to America in 1803 by Irénée du Pont of Wilmington, Del. See Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 742.

dishes of sweet-meats (preserves) ornamented with roses, " which gave a very pretty effect."

The following year her diary noted the arrival of a shipment of plants from Mr. Prince which included roses—a single yellow, a large monthly, a yellow and red Austrian and an apple rose. For the General's orchard were named varieties of peaches, pears and cherries and, for ornament, one weeping cherry tree.

Mrs. Forman may not have been as garden-minded as her husband but she, too, loved Rose Hill. On her return from a visit to Annapolis in the summer of 1817, she wrote in her journal: " O Rose Hill, I was truly glad to see you—You have more charm for me than any other place." Rose Hill today is shorn of many of its past glories but not of its charm and through the Forman records this noble estate blooms again and will never die. The property is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Eliason.

Although General Forman preferred to order his plants from New York and Philadelphia nurserymen, there were well established nurseries near Baltimore which catered to eager but less exacting gardeners. One of the earliest advertisers of nursery stock was Philip Walter, who stated in the *Maryland Gazette,* November 18, 1790, that he had for sale " Catalpa Flower Trees, weeping willows, English walnuts of the best kind, bitter almonds, Senna trees and altheas, red and purple." Walter is not listed in the Baltimore Directory until 1803. That year he had a nursery-garden on the Hookstown turnpike, now the Reisterstown Road.

The first advertisement of William Booth, " nursery and seedsman " appeared in the *Federal Gazette*, July 21, 1796. Booth is credited with having laid out some of the fine gardens in and near Baltimore, though documentary proof of this is lacking. His five acre nursery, located on what is now West Baltimore Street, adjoined the country seat of the Hon. James McHenry, from whom he rented the land for a term of 30 years. The inventory of Booth's nursery made after his death in 1818, does not contain unusual plant material.[39] The next year his widow, Mrs. Margaret Booth, is listed in the Directory as " Vendor of garden seeds." She continued the nursery and seed business for ten years.

Robert Sinclair's nursery on the eastern outskirts of Baltimore was well and favorably known for many years. In 1829 he ad-

[39] Baltimore City Court House, Inventories, Liber # 33. Copied for records on Hampton by Mrs. Charlotte V. Verplanck.

vertised " his ambition leads him to endeavor to make his Nursery to Maryland, what Prince's is to New York—its pride and bost." [40] This nursery was inherited by his son-in-law, John William Corse, in 1838. In 1847 Corse purchased 100 acres of Furley Hall, the country seat of the Daniel Bowly family, and known as the Claremont-Furley Nurseries, it continued for many years.

In 1833 Samuel Feast established a nursery at Cockeysville, Baltimore County. He and John Feast were charter members of the Maryland Horticultural Society organized that year by a group of enthusiastic gentlemen and a few nurserymen. At the first exhibition of the Society held on June 14, 1833, held in the Athenaeum Building, Baltimore, Samuel Feast exhibited exotics and heaths. He was awarded the first premium—a silver cream jug—for the best raspberries grown from seed.[41] A few years later he gave to the world two roses of his origination which were very popular—Baltimore Belle and Queen of the Prairies.

The Rosebank Nursery of William Dunlop Brackenridge (1810-1893) on York Road near Govans was justly celebrated in its day. Brackenridge, who received his early training in Scotland, was in 1838 appointed botanist by the U. S. Government to the expedition to explore the Pacific. On his return in 1842 he was entrusted with growing the plants and seeds which he had collected —some 40,000 specimens. Many of these plants can still be seen in the Botanic garden and greenhouse at the foot of Capitol hill. In 1855 he moved to Baltimore where he established a large nursery and extensive greenhouse.[42] Many of the fine estates of that day, notably Clifton, the country seat of Johns Hopkins, were laid out by Brackenridge and his name often occurs in the account books of the Ridgely family for ornamental trees and shrubs, evergreens and greenhouse plants for Hampton.

The early nurserymen of Maryland without doubt helped greatly to raise the standard of gardening in the State by awakening the interest of gardeners and the general public in new and better plant material.

Of equal importance were the early 19th century books on agriculture, horticulture and kindred subjects written by Americans for the people of America. Prior to the Revolution the colonists

[40] *The American Farmer,* XI (1829-30), 372.
[41] *Ibid.,* XV (1833-34), 113.
[42] *D. A. B.,* II, 545-546 and *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879), p. 199.

had depended solely on English publications for information on planting. Due to differences in climate and soil, these instructions were often misleading and sometimes disastrous. The first book on agriculture written by a Marylander was *Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs* by John Beale Bordley (1724-1804), which was published in Philadelphia in 1799. Bordley, a distinguished lawyer of Annapolis, in 1770 came into possession of 1,600 acres on Wye Island which he farmed on a large scale. Like Charles Carroll, the Barrister, he was an experimental farmer far in advance of his day. He did not believe in growing tobacco year after year to the detriment of the soil but practiced a rotation of crops of wheat, hemp, flax and cotton. We know he had fine orchards and grew many varieties of vegetables, but he makes no mention of a flower garden, though he probably had one, for he lived in almost regal style on his island estate for over twenty years. Nothing remains today of any planting he made or of his great house which was destroyed by fire in 1879.[43]

For many years garden-minded colonists had used as their guide Philip Miller's *Gardener's and Florist's Dictionary*, an authoritative work first published in London in 1724 with many subsequent editions. After the Revolution when foreign plant material began to flood the American market, English books on gardening were found to be inadequate and misleading in their instructions. Although Americans felt the need for a book written by one who understood conditions and problems of gardening in the States, it was not until 1804 that the first book on gardening in America appeared. John Gardiner and David Hepburn were the joint authors of *The American Gardener* which was published in Washington, D. C. This book of over 200 pages, but so small it could be slipped in a pocket, gave month by month instruction for the care of kitchen and flower gardens, shrubs, orchards, hop yards, nurseries, greenhouses and hot beds. This book had a very extensive sale and started the long train of books on gardening which continues today. David Hepburn who supplied the practical knowledge found in the book had been gardener at Gen. John Mason's estate on Analostan Island, Potomac River, and at Cedar Park, the seat of Governor Mercer in Anne Arundel County. We could wish he had described these estates which ranked high at that time. Nothing remains now of the deer park at Cedar Park

[43] Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1934), p. 299.

mentioned by Parkinson,[44] a rare thing to find in Maryland for he saw only one other in his travels through the State. That was at Wye, Col. Lloyd's estate on the Eastern Shore. Still surviving at Cedar Park are the magnificent hedges of clipped holly and bush roses which bound the garden area today. Known locally as the Daily rose, these old bushes are covered with small fragrant pink blossoms in June.

The first book published in America on the culture of grapes was by a resident of Maryland. Major John Adlum of Wilton Farm near Georgetown established an experimental vineyard there for the amelioration of native grapes.[45] He is credited with having brought the now popular Catawba grape to public notice. Thomas Jefferson when in Washington was so favorably impressed with the wine made by Adlum, which he likened to Caumartin burgundy, that in 1810 he ordered 165 cuttings of Adlum's grapes for planting at Monticello.[46] Adlum's book, *A Memoir on the Cultivation of the Vine in America and the Best Mode of Making Wine*, was published in Washington, D. C., in 1823.

Baltimore stepped into the publishing limelight in the early 1820's with the publication of three books on gardens and horticulture which are collector's items today. In 1819, Fielding Lucas, Jr., published *The Practical American Gardener* by "An Old Gardener." The identity of the author of this quite ambitious work of over 400 small sized pages has never been discovered. Presumably he was not a local man, for his comments and advice on the kitchen garden, flower garden, orchard, shrubbery, etc., cover conditions on the entire eastern seaboard. Of special interest are the lists of plant material he appends to each subject. His chapter on laying out and planting "pleasure grounds" proves that owners of large estates were becoming interested in extending the cultivated area of their grounds and were landscaping them for pictorial effect.

Joseph P. Casey, who is listed in the 1821 Baltimore Directory as "botanist," with a seed store on Hanover Street, wrote and published that year, *A Treatise on the Culture of Flower Roots and Greenhouse Plants* which he presented "principally to the

[44] Richard Parkinson, *A Tour in America, 1798-1800* (2 vols., London, 1805), I, 226-27.
[45] Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 226-27.
[46] *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book*, p. 423.

Notice of Ladies," a sign that the ladies were becoming plant conscious. At his shop he sold auricula seed at $25 an ounce and listed a number of varieties of tulips, singles and doubles and parroquets.

In 1823 Joseph Robinson, whose circulating library on Market Street, was a rendezvous for book lovers for many years, published and printed *The American Gardener* by William Cobbett. Cobbett was an Englishman who for political reasons resided in America for two brief periods. This book was also issued in New York and New Hampshire and was reproduced in London in 1827 with considerable modifications as *The English Gardener.*

Baltimore was also the first publishing home of *The American Farmer*, the first American magazine issued in the interest of agriculture with articles of horticultural interest as well. The founder and editor of this popular weekly which commenced publication in 1819, was John Stuart Skinner (1788-1851), a native of Calvert County.[47] Skinner was Francis Scott Key's companion that fateful night of September 13th, 1814, when the glare of the rockets showed the flag at Fort McHenry was still flying. He was postmaster of Baltimore from 1816 to 1837 and from all accounts had a most engaging personality and a wide circle of friends. In 1824 he was corresponding secretary of the Maryland Agricultural Society, founded in 1786; he was a charter member and a counsellor of the Maryland Horticultural Society, organized in 1832 by a small group of prominent Baltimoreans who met in the office of the *American Farmer* to draft the constitution.[48] The next year Skinner sold the magazine to I. Irvine Hitchcock, who became the recording secretary of the Horticultural Society. Dr. Gideon B. Smith, a prominent physician and entomologist of Baltimore, became editor of the magazine.

Probably due largely to Hitchcock's connection with the Maryland Horticultural Society and to rapidly increasing interest of Marylanders in new plant material for their gardens and greenhouses, Hitchcock and Smith in 1833 opened a " General Agriculture and Horticulture Establishment " in the office of the *American Farmer*, 16 South Calvert St., where they sold seeds of all sorts. The announcement of this enterprise informed the general public that they were " special agents for most of the principal nursery

[47] *D. A. B.*, XVII, 199-201.
[48] J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 465.

and gardening establishments in the Union, among which are Prince & Sons at Flushing L. I., Mrs. Parmentier's at Brooklyn, N. Y., Hibbert and Buist's at Philadelphia, . . ." [49] This was a rare opportunity for Maryland people to buy the world's best with little effort. From then on the *American Farmer* carried excellent articles on horticulture and floriculture; any one interested in knowing what plant material was available a century and more ago, will enjoy scanning the pages of this magazine which under several owners and editors continued until the Civil War.

Interesting also are the well-written accounts of the early exhibitions of the Maryland Horticultural Society. The schedule of classes, rules and regulations are given and the list of awards. Everybody who has attended the flower shows staged by the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland at the Baltimore Museum of Art can appreciate how stimulating these early shows must have been to the general public who visited them in throngs in the early 1830's. In 1833 a silver cup was awarded Mrs. William McKim for the best collection of gooseberries and silver medals were given to Mrs. T. L. Emory and Mrs. Thomas Edmondson for oranges and lemons and collections of rare exotics. The thirteen prizes awarded were all made by Andrew E. Warner, well-known silversmith of Baltimore and were engraved with the cypher of the Society.[50] Possibly these coveted trophies are treasured today by their descendants for none have been located to date.

Hon. John Pendleton Kennedy, Baltimore's beloved silver-tongued orator delivered the address at the first exhibition which was held June 11th and 12th, 1833, at the Athenaeum.[51] He paid tribute to the French refugees from Santo Domingo who settled in Baltimore at the end of the 18th century. " They brought with them an invaluable gift to our people—the knowledge of plants and garden stuffs. After their arrival . . . almost immediately Baltimore became distinguished for the profusion and excellence of fruits and vegatables which supplied our tables." Baltimoreans were well aware of the worth of these transplanted Frenchmen for the *American*, February 28, 1824, carried an advertisement for a gardener wanted to superintend a country seat near the city—" a person acquainted with the French style of cultivation would be preferred."

[49] Collection Maryland Historical Society.
[50] *Baltimore Gazette & Daily Advertiser,* June 4, 1833, p. 3.
[51] Printed copy of this address in Maryland Historical Society.

These green-thumb refugees from Santo Domingo had inherited the French traditions of fine gardens and horticulture for which France had long been noted. The kings of France were a truly royal race of gardeners and their gardens at Versailles, the Trianons, and elsewhere are world famous today. The Empress Josephine, also a regal floriculturist, knew and carried on the tradition at Malmaison. There she assembled a collection of all the known roses of the world and is credited with holding the world's first exhibitions of roses.[52] French gardeners and botanists raised the art of hybridizing to a science in which they still lead the world. In 1829 well over 2,000 roses were listed in French catalogues. Many of them are unknown today but the American Rose Society is trying to track some of them down and bring them back to favor.

From Brazil the French imported begonias and gloxinias; petunias from Argentine; verbenas, ageratum and calceolarias from South America also; dahlias and zinnias from Mexico; pelargoniums and lobelias from South Africa and cinerarias from the Canary Islands; from Java and the islands of the Pacific came crotons and coleus and plants with variegated foliage. Those from the tropics and sub-tropics had to be raised in a greenhouse before setting out in summer. Gradually they were listed by seedsmen and nurserymen and used as bedding-out plants. Parterres became exceedingly popular. Soon the public parks of Paris fairly bristled in summer with groves of rubber trees, palms, ricinus (castor-oil beans) and beds of cannas and caladiums. Geometrically laid out beds of low growing annuals, which resembled a floral rug spread on a lawn, became the rage and the fashion was soon followed in England in the early days of Victoria's reign. Seen everywhere by American tourists who more and more were making an European tour part of their cultural education, the style soon became the vogue in America.

Although these gardens of floral mosaics are derided today—for new days bring new ideas in gardening as in all else—nobody can read J. C. Carpenter's description of the garden at Hampton in 1874 and fail to realize that in its day and in its way, this garden was superb.[53] "Laid out in geometrical figures . . . in terrace after terrace, strictly kept distinct in masses of color, eight

[52] Wright, *op. cit.*, 402.
[53] "An Old Maryland Mansion" in *Appleton's Journal,* XII (1875), 577.

thousand plants were bedded out. The scarlet and orange and deep carmine of the geraniums; the blue and purple and white of the sweet-scented heliotropes; the maroon and lavender of the verbenas; the tawny gold and red of the roses; and the ample leaves of bronzy crimson and yellow of the coleus; the borderings of vivid green; the orange and lemon trees . . . made a scene exceeding beautiful." Mrs. Charles Ridgley (Margaretta Sophia Howard, granddaughter of Gov. John Eager Howard) was the mistress of Hampton then.

Without doubt some Maryland gardens completed in recent years will seem dated and odd to future generations but it is safe to predict that Maryland will never lack lovely gardens. Gardens, always, everywhere, are the outcome of a particular culture. They reflect the spirit of the day and age. They are an outward sign of a special grace.

RIVERSDALE, THE STIER-CALVERT HOME

By Eugenia Calvert Holland

THE mansion of Riversdale, which served as the home of a branch of the Calvert family during most of the 19th century, is today owned and maintained by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission which uses the building for its Prince George's County regional office.[1] However, the casual visitor will have little difficulty envisioning it as it was about 1816 in the time of George Calvert and his progeny if, standing on the expansive lawn or walking on the site of the old terraced gardens, he ignores the modern streets and houses which now crowd the reluctant house. One may imagine the view that must have presented itself a century ago, for, with minor exceptions, this late Georgian home is little changed from the days of its glory, when it was the heart and soul of an estate of over a thousand rolling acres, of extensive woodlands, winding dirt roads, woodsheds, the old blacksmith shop, barns overflowing with grain and produce, and not the least, tobacco sheds, slave quarters, and oxen in the fields under the yoke.

The mansion is located in the town of Riverdale, approximately 6 miles north of the National Capital, between Hyattsville and

[1] This account is based largely on two groups of Stier-Calvert letters: (1) original letters from Baron de Stier to his daughter, Mrs. George Calvert, which were inherited by her great granddaughter, Mrs. Henry J. Bowdoin, and are now deposited in the library of the Maryland Historical Society, and (2) translations of Mrs. Calvert's letters to her father which were obtained many years ago by Mrs. Bowdoin through her cousin, the late John Ridgely Carter. These are also in the Maryland Historical Society. The originals were at last accounts still in the hands of the decendants of the Baron in Belgium. The translations of group 1 have been made by Henri, Baron deWitte, also a descendant of Baron de Stier through his elder daughter, Isabel van Havre. Certain of the letters in group 2 were edited by William D. Hoyt, Jr., and printed in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1943), 123-140, 261-272, and 337-344.

Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Baron deWitte, whose translations have proved the sole basis for the earliest description of the Riversdale mansion and grounds; to my brother, William Calvert Holland, of the Maryland Bar, for his search of original deeds, wills and inventories in Anne Arundel and Prince George's Counties; to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, for his interest and encouragement; to Mr. John H. Scarff, A.I.A.; to Mr. A. Russel Slagle; to Mr. F. W. Tuemmler, and Mr. R. M. Watkins of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, for their courtesy and suggestions, and for the floor plan of the Riversdale mansion; and to the Editor for revising and preparing the manuscript for publication.

College Park, and about a quarter of a mile east of the Baltimore-Washington Boulevard (U. S. Route 1).

The house is not American, nor was it built by the Calverts. The central, or original portion, is a modified replica of the Chateau du Mick, one of the four residences of Henri Joseph, Baron de Stier, of Belgium. It is a brick house, stuccoed and painted. The prototype was somewhat larger, and is still standing ten miles north of Antwerp. It is characterized by a hipped roof, surmounted by a cupola, and these are apparent at Riversdale, although the latter has been extended on either side by wings, which add considerably to the inviting warmth of the structure. Both fronts have had four-columned porticoes added to them. As a result Riversdale presents the atmosphere of a home, whereas du Mick, massive and cold, stands somberly out from its surrounding forest.

To say that Riversdale was a by-product of the French Revolution would not be untrue. The French revolutionists, not satisfied with the annihilation of their own aristocracy, crossed the border into Belgium in 1794 and Baron de Stier, along with many of the nobility of his country, was faced with extinction. In June, 1794, Stier with his family witnessed the French victory at the battle of Fleurus from the windows in the spire of the Cathedral of Antwerp.[2] To avoid the inevitable, he gathered his family and possessions and fled with them across the Dutch border to Amsterdam. Through the good offices of Sylvanus Bourne, the American consul, and Thomas Pinckney, U. S. Minister in London, passports were arranged for the eight members of the family and two servants for passage to the United States. The document, over Pinckney's signature, names the members of the party:

> It having been represented to me by a respectable citizen of the U. S. A., that the following family of Brabant, lately resident at Antwerp, but now residing at Amsterdam to-wit Mr. Stier d'Artzelaer, his wife and daughter, Mr. Charles Stier and his wife, Mr. Jean M. A. van Havre and his wife and daughter, have chartered the American Ship Adriana, Captain Fitzpatric, of Philadelphia, purposing to embark therein for the U. S. A. I do, therefore, hereby request all persons whom these presents may concern to permit the aforementioned Family to pass unmolested to the place of their destination.[3]

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[2] George Henry Calvert, *First Years in Europe* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, [1866], p. 22.

[3] R. Winder Johnson, compiler, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1908), p. 35-36.

Stier's choice of America as a place of refuge was undoubtedly motivated by the fact that the United States was neutral, and that by going there he would be least likely to suffer confiscation of his estates, or incur other reprisals.

The *General Advertiser* of Philadelphia for the 13th of October, 1794, published the names of the Stier party who had just arrived as passengers in the *Adriana*.[4] For reasons which are not apparent, the family soon split up. Baron de Stier, his wife, Lady Marie Louise Peeters, and their youngest child, Rosalie Eugenia, aged 16, remained in that city. Their older daughter, Isabelle, and her husband, Baron Van Havre, with their three year old child, Louise Marie, moved to Alexandria, Va., where they established a residence. The son, Charles Jean Stier, and his wife, sister of Baron Van Havre, proceeded to Richmond.

The following summer, Charles, through correspondence, persuaded his father of the agreeableness of living conditions in the south, and in the fall of 1795, the Baron, his wife and Rosalie, came to Maryland, renting the estate of Strawberry Hill on the Severn River, near Annapolis.[5] In the fall of 1797, the family moved again, this time to the Brice house in Annapolis, one of the handsomest residences in that capital.[6] Here George Calvert, of Mount Airy, met Rosalie.

One of the earliest letters of this period bears Rosalie's signature. It was addressed to her brother Charles, in Virginia. " At present we are growing used to our citizenship in Annapolis and we are to make the rounds in the coach tomorrow for the first time. . . . Our new house is enormously big, four rooms below, three large and two small ones on the second floor besides the staircases, and the finest garden in Annapolis. . . ." The hall was hung with twelve of the smaller paintings from the famous Stier collection brought from Europe.[7]

The following New Year's Eve, Lady Stier wrote to her son Charles:

Your sister dances every day, but a quartan fever has been her partner for some time lately, which makes the others jealous as you can imagine.

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[4] *Ibid.*, 36.

[5] Ida G. Everson, *George Henry Calvert, American Literary Pioneer* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 12-13.

[6] Baron Hervé de Gruben, " Une famille d'emigrés belges aux Etats-unis pendant la Révolution Francaise " in *Belgium*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (June, 1941), p. 11.

[7] Letters of Mrs. Calvert, Carter translation, No. 6.

Yesterday we had a tea party with Mrs. Ogel [Ogle] who asked whether I could receive her, Miss [Shaaf?], Miss Aienbottem [Higginbotham?], the Doctor, Mr. Ogel, the Frenchman and Mr. Calvert. As our drawing room is well arranged this was the easiest thing in the world.[8]

At this time Mr. Calvert was a member of the state legislature. Was he the "quartan fever" Mme. Stier referred to? We have no other contemporary letters referring to the courtship of this young couple.

George Calvert was a son of Elizabeth Calvert, the only surviving child and consequently heiress of Charles Calvert, Esq., Governor of Maryland 1720-27. In 1748, she had married, her cousin, Benedict Calvert, Esq., of Mount Airy, Prince George's County.[9]

Among those whom the Stiers met in Annapolis was Rembrandt Peale who spent the winter of 1799 in that city.

Mr. Stier was so well pleased with my portraits that he engaged me to paint him. . . . He proposed to sit at his own house [Brice House], as he wished to place before me three excellent portraits by Titian, Rubens, and Vandyke [part of the Stiers' personal collection] as objejcts of inspiration for a young artist. . . . Mr. Stier's only [unmarried] daughter—an elegant woman—was soon after married to Mr. Calvert.[10]

The ante-nuptial agreement, drawn up between George Calvert, Henry Joseph Stier d'Artzelaer and his daughter Rosalie Eugenia, and the Baltimore attorney, William Cooke, entered Mlle. Stier's dowry as a certificate of $5,000, a legacy of her aunt, the Baroness of Schilde. The following lands were listed as the property of Calvert: The Hermitage, 1,000 acres in Montgomery County; Hog Yard and Dennemark and small tracts adjoining, 650-700 acres; Swantons Lott and Cool Spring Mannor and several tracts adjoining, 2,200 acres, all in Prince George's County; Seaman's Delight, 250 acres, in the Territory of Columbia; totaling in all something over 4,000 acres of land, principally in woodland. It was covenanted: ". . . that in case the intended marriage shall take effect and there shall be issue thereof, that the said children

[8] The Ogles were probably the wife and son of Benjamin Ogle, Governor of Maryland, 1798-1801.

[9] St. Anne's Parish Register, Annapolis, copy in Maryland Historical Society, p. 450.

[10] Hoyt, *op. cit.*, p. 265, footnote 28.

. . . shall be bred up and educated in the principles and belief of the Roman Catholic Religion." [11]

The marriage license was issued Monday, June 10, 1799, and the wedding took place the following day in Annapolis. Thus were joined two families of equal prominence, the groom being the great grandson of Benedict, fourth Lord Baltimore, who was the great grandson of Sir George Calvert, Principal Secretary of State for James I of England, later first Baron of Baltimore. The bride's father, Baron de Stier, Lord of Artzelaer and Cleydale, was the great grandson of Jacques Jean de Montdit de Brailmont and his wife, Jeanne Catherine Lunden, great-granddaughter of the Flemish artist, Peter Paul Rubens, Lord of Steen, knighted both by Philip IV of Spain, and Charles I of England.[12]

From George Washington's diary we learn that during the second week of their honeymoon, Mr. and Mrs. George Calvert were entertained at dinner at Mt. Vernon. The guests included Baron Stier and his wife, their son, Charles Jean Stier and wife, the latter's brother, Baron Van Havre, Mrs. Ludwell Lee, Mrs. Corbin Washington, and other distinguished guests.[13]

George and Rosalie first established their home at "Mont Alban," [14] Prince George's County. In the fall of 1799, Mrs. Calvert's parents moved to Bladensburg, apparently to be nearer to them.

The first child was born to the young couple on July 15, 1800, and christened by a French priest, Father Vergnes, Caroline Maria.[15] It is amusing to note that two days before the birth, Baron Van Havre had written to Charles Stier: "Give my love to Papa, Mama, your wife, and to Calvert and Rosalie. Tell the latter to take care not to have a daughter, as I am prepared to laugh her husband out of countenance after his boast of his expected son." Since on neither side of the baby's immediate family does the name Caroline appear, she may have been named

[11] Liber J. G. No. 5, General Court Western Shore of Maryland, f. 489-495, dated June 8, 1799.

[12] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I: 208-211.

[13] John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1925), IV, 307.

[14] The writer believes that the present Mount Auburn near Clinton, about 10 miles from Washington, is identical with Mount Alban or Mount Albion. It was a part of His Lordship's Kindness. Effie Gwinn Bowie, *Across the Years in Prince George's County* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1947), p. 359.

[15] Everson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

for Governor Eden's lovely wife, Caroline Calvert Eden, George Calvert's paternal aunt, who had been a frequent visitor at Mount Airy during George's childhood.

In the fall of this year, the public buildings in the District of Columbia being ready, Congress held its first session in the new Capital.

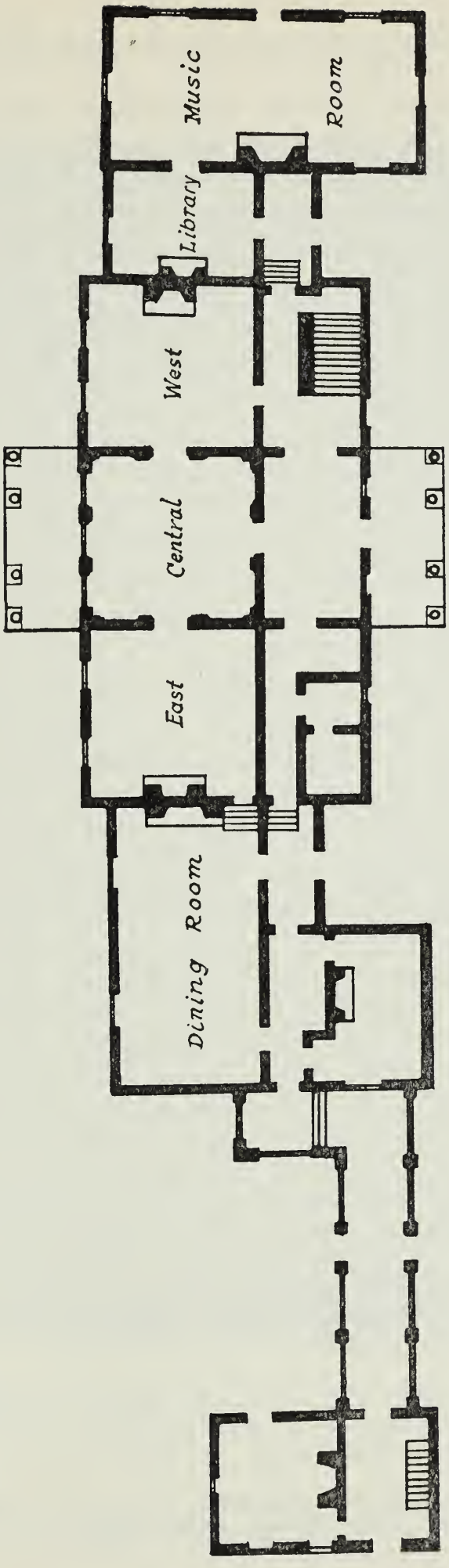
The following spring, Stier's son, Charles, "lent his name in the purchase" for his father of six lots in Bladensburg and five tracts of land adjoining in Prince George's County, conveyed by William and Helen Steuart to Charles Jean Stier. This low lying meadow land, something over 800 acres, in a rich agricultural section of Maryland, between the upper reaches of the Paint Branch and the Northwest Branch of the Anacostia River, were the nucleus of the plantation of Riversdale.[16]

The topography of the land was similar to the Belgian holdings of Baron de Stier, just north of Antwerp. The family decided that the house to be erected here should follow the classic lines of the Chateau du Mick, built ca. 1775. Accordingly, Charles drew the plans for the house prior to his return to Belgium in November, 1801. That same year ground was broken for the mansion. Bricks, for the house, of a bright salmon color, were made from the local clay.

Rosalie Calvert wrote to her brother in December 1801: ". . . the labour of building seems to agree with him [Papa] . . . the house is progressing well." Residing conveniently near, Henri Stier carefully watched the construction. The deep vaulted cellars were the first indication of the solid building technique so pronounced in the central structure. The massive brick arches were bridged by hand-hewn 12 x 12-inch oak beams, which still bear the adz marks. The central beams are supported by trunks of cedar.

While the house has been greatly enlarged and altered since its original owner's departure, the central part retains its essential features and style. As the plan shows, the entrance hall leads into a square drawing room overlooking the grounds to the south. On either side are rooms of almost identical size, with similar, if less elaborate, decoration. The central salon has three shallow arched panels on each side. The semi-circular arches are supported by paired, decorated Corinthian pilasters. On the outside or south

[16] Prince George's County Deeds, Liber J. R. M. # 8, f. 584-5.



FLOOR PLAN OF RIVERSDALE, 1950

Showing the "breezeway" which now connects the old kitchen with the east wing.

wall the arches are filled in with triple hung windows. The central arch on each of the other three sides to the spring line of the arch is filled by double mahogany doors leading to the adjoining rooms. The remaining six arches are shallow panels. There is a highly decorated plaster frieze and cornice around the entire room above the heads of the arches. The square ceiling has an elaborate plaster centerpiece, from which hangs a large crystal chandelier.[17]

These three rooms were obviously planned to permit formal entertaining, when almost the whole floor could be thrown open, as well as to suit intimate family life. The east room must have been used, before the building of the wings, as a dining room, while the west room was a library or possibly a sitting room. The inventory of George Calvert's estate, dated 1838, lists many pieces of furniture of apparently early Federal design. Certain items from Riversdale now in the possession of descendants are obviously contemporary pieces.

There is a tradition that the first architect of the United States Capitol, William Thornton, had a hand in some of the Riversdale designs, and the main stairway has often been attributed to him. The grooved handrail, is characteristic of Thornton workmanship. The impressive sweep of the general design, as well as the fact that Thornton was the architect of Woodlawn, built about the same time by relatives of the Calverts, afford further support for the tradition.[18]

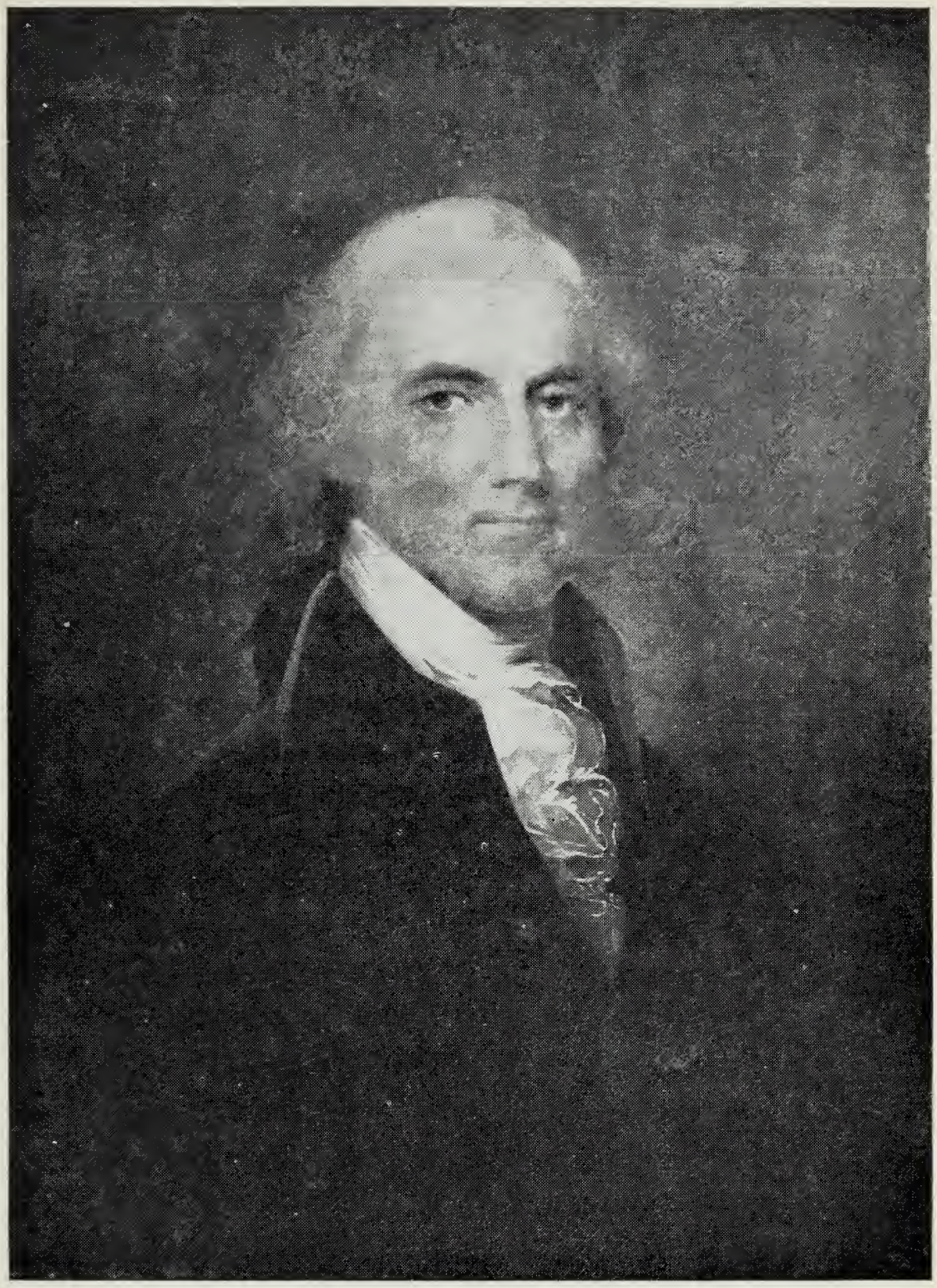
Riversdale is mentioned in the papers of Benjamin H. Latrobe, but in such a manner that his connection with it is not clear.[19] This was in 1811. As the architect for the United States Capitol at that time, he no doubt visited Riversdale and probably was consulted on plans for the porticoes which tradition has associated with his name.

The date of the building of the wings unfortunately cannot be fixed, but the inventory of 1838 offers ground for believing that they had already been finished. At present the greater part of the east wing is a single room, 17 by 36 feet. It is entered from the east drawing room or from the hall, and is on a lower level. The

[17] Mr. John H. Scarff, A. I. A., who kindly inspected Riversdale with the writer, contributed the architectural description given here.

[18] See Katherine Scarborough, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, MacMillan, 1930), p. 75.

[19] Ferdinand C. Latrobe, II, "Benjamin H. Latrobe—Descent and Works," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (Sept., 1938), p. 258.



HENRI JOSEPH, BARON DE STIER, 1743-1821

Seigneur de Cleydael, de Buerstede, de Valeryk et d'Aertselaer

Artist De Keizer

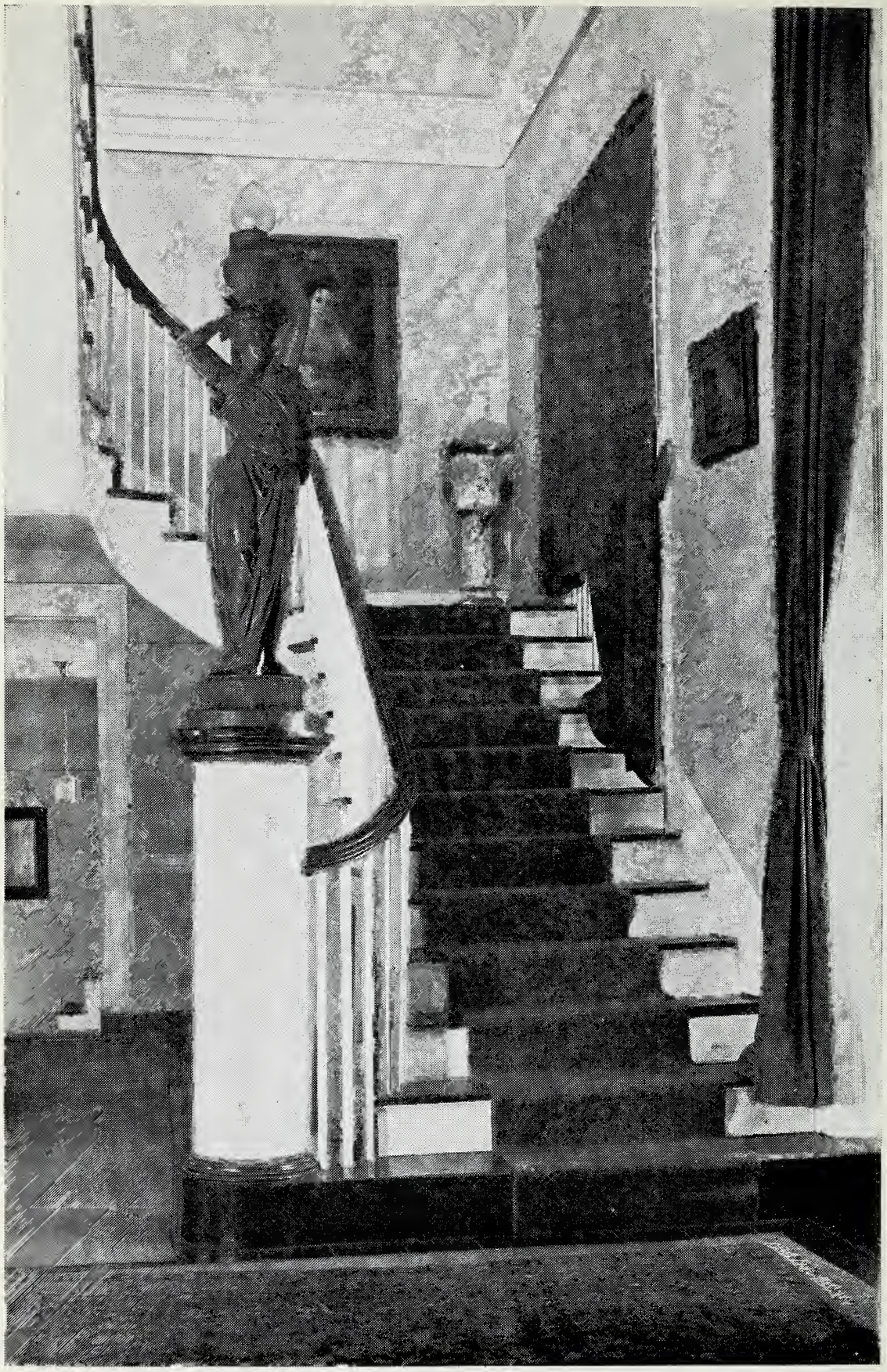
Sent especially for this article by courtesy of Baron van Havre, Chateau du List, Belgium.

MRS. CHARLES BENEDICT CALVERT, 1816-1876
(CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA NORRIS)
BY THOMAS SULLY

Collection Maryland Historical Society, from estate of Mrs. William M. Ellicott, granddaughter of the subject

CENTRAL SALON FROM THE WEST PARLOR

Showing the cornice and arches designed by William Russell Birch, presumably based on patterns from the Chateau du Mick, Belgium.



MAIN STAIRWAY AT RIVERSDALE

Traditionally Attributed to William Thornton.

These photographs supplied by Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

rest of this wing is today taken up with the kitchen and hallways. The west wing is entered by steps leading down from the main stairhall, and includes a library to the south, and a large music room at the west end. The great rooms in each wing have ceilings 18½ feet high. These rooms are the result in each case of removal of an entire floor. They are now known as the "state dining room" and the "music room"—terms dating perhaps from the occupancy of Senator Hiram Johnson and later of Senator Thaddeus H. Caraway. Originally these rooms were of two stories as in the rest of the wings.

Some time during 1802 the house was sufficiently completed for occupancy by the Baron, and the Calverts planned to spend New Year's Day of 1803 there with the Stiers, but a heavy snowfall prevented their making the trip from Mont Alban. A letter from Isabelle, Rosalie's sister, to Charles in Belgium, dated at Riversdale March 1, 1803, tells of the birth of the second child, George Henry.

> Rosalie intended to be confined here on the fifteenth of January, but on the second of January an express messenger came to tell us that this Dauphin had made his entry into this world at her home. Mamma and I went there through a deep snow. I came back the next day. Mamma stayed over a fortnight, then I went to relieve her, and after three or four weeks Rosalie came with me to Bladensburg where she has been ever since. She is much better since her confinement, and does not suffer from the fever she had so badly. She does not intend to come with us to Europe. I suppose she will get ready to visit us in a year or so to try the life in Belgium, of which she does not seem to have the good opinion with which you credit her. She affects to think the society and customs here infinitely preferable. It is true that she has caught the spirit of the land much more than we others, which is perhaps an advantage for her. In any event, I think she would be much more attractive if she were less American!

From this it is apparent that the Stiers had decided to return to Europe. In April of 1803 George Calvert wrote to his brother-in-law, Charles:

> You will readily suppose that Rosalie and myself had indulged the fond hope of Papa and Mama's remaining on this side of the Atlantic, after having done much towards fixing a residence [and] by the improvements made upon the farm. . . . There still remains a great deal to do which would serve him for amusement did he remain here.

At last it became clear that the Baron, chiefly on account of the health of Lady Stier, could not be dissuaded from returning to

his native land. There were still extensive plans for the future of Riversdale. A meticulous agriculturist, Baron Stier, in the months remaining before his departure, spent many hours with his daughter, Rosalie, discussing further improvements and striving to impart knowledge of farming techniques to her. He desired to have what he had begun reach completion, and he hoped his daughter and her husband would make the plantation their home. In the years following his return to Europe, his letters to his daughter show how much he continued as the guiding influence on the development of the estate.

The final parting came in June, 1803, Rosalie little realizing that she was never to see any of them again. Her father wrote from Baltimore, on the eve of sailing, that she must not regret her decision against accepting his proposal to give her the house, for he had made it only as an offer to be accepted if suitable to her convenience. "I repeat the same offers and will give you everything necessary to make it habitable."

The Baron won his case, for later in the summer George and Rosalie moved from Mont Alban to Riversdale. She wrote her brother in September that her husband had four plantations to manage, including Riversdale, which required his "continued presence to be kept in good order, so that we live there. I feel nearer to my parents in this house. . . . I like going with Caroline for the same walks we took with father and mother, and I sit down on the tree trunks where we used to chat together."

Even so, the summer had its gay side. The Calverts frequently received visitors, especially George's niece, the lovely Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, formerly Eleanor Parke Custis, who had wed the nephew of George Washington just a few months before the Calverts were married. George Calvert had attended this wedding at Mt. Vernon, February 22, 1799. Rosalie says in a letter dated September 12, 1803: "I am very well now and take much exercise—chiefly on horseback. Mrs. Lewis comes here three or four times a week. We ride together and several 'cavaliers' accompany us."

Rosalie busied herself with plans for a brick bridge over a mill race, in raising hyacinths, and other garden work, all of which met with warm commendation from her father. Urging that she employ a manager for the plantation, as well as a book-keeper, he wrote:

I met Wm. Birch in Baltimore but I did not ask him to make the plans; however, I am pleased that he has been so prompt.[20] I intended to advise you to hire him to make the plans for the terraces on the north and south sides of the house. On the north he should draw a lake about as I suggested, but larger. I think he should locate some clumps of trees in the field to hide the orhard; the south side offers the architect more opportunities to sketch the clumps of trees which should make the landscape and also give you a plan for the improvement, without great expense, of the milk house and the smithy. I think it is necessary to employ an architect who is at the same time an artist to draw the plan for the landscape and I think Mr. Birch the best for the job. The place should develop into a charming landscape and any money expended will help to reach that object. If you are decided to engage him for these plans send me a copy. . . . I shall take care of the mantelpiece for the dining room.

Birch was consulted, not only for landscaping the surroundings but for decoration of the interior. Her father urged Rosalie to visit Europe and to bring the plans drawn by Mr. Birch. There was an unsuccessful search for the original plans drawn by Charles Stier. Apparently Birch wanted to use them in connection with details of cornices, and ornamentation of the doors and window frames in the drawing room and dining room. The Baron forwarded a sketch of the drawing room in the Chateau du Mick " on which that of Bladensburg has been based; if it will help you I will send you the profile of the cornices, the panels, and the moldings."

Again the Baron wrote: " I want you to take care of your home and put it on a respectable level, by the great discipline of your servants and by the good care of your furniture. . . . I advise you to inquire about the four mirrors left by Mrs. Van Havre in Alexandria. . . ."

The landscaping was to include a large lake. " Note that the water, as a mirror in an apartment, is the principal ornament; the north side of your home is very convenient for this embellishment; you have at your disposition a crown of water and the soil should be deepened only one or two feet. The water should be

[20] Presumably William Russell Birch (1755-1834), English born artist, engraver and designer who came to this country in 1794. He is remembered today for his views of Philadelphia, 1798-1800, and a series of views of American country seats which appeared in 1808. Among the latter are engravings of Hampton, Baltimore County, and Mt. Vernon. As he was a European, Baron Stier obviously felt him competent to complete the ornamentation of both the exterior and interior of Riversdale in the manner he himself had planned. The formal arrangement of the grounds has long since been obliterated and left little of the terraces and no trace of the flower gardens so often mentioned in family letters.

level with the soil." He recommended holly, willow, beech, pine, elm and other trees.

The lake, however, was constructed on the south side of the house, no doubt because of the lower level in that direction. In 1804 a heavy storm struck the vicinity and Rosalie wrote that Riversdale was almost carried away.[21] The heavy damage drew sympathy from her father. However, the new lake furnished fish and also ice for the ice house, which had been built in the wood nearby. Covered with straw, it resembled a hut, and with a nearby Negro cabin and other farm buildings composed an attractive group. Mrs. Calvert was at work with a flower garden on a terrace near the house, where she planted roses, jasmine, geraniums and heliotrope.

Baron Stier, satisfied that the Calverts would make Riversdale their permanent home, took the legal steps necessary to settle the place on his daughter. In his journal he entered his determination to give her the Riversdale plantation " exactly as we have inhabited it, and left it. We only except the pictures which we reserve for ourselves." This gift was to be Rosalie's share of what would come to her at her father's death and was estimated at $40,000 in value. He promised also to give her as dowry (" dotation ") the sum of 150,000 florins, equal to the gifts to his other children.[22] In due time a conveyance of the property to Rosalie was prepared and sent over, but owing to legal complications, some years were to elapse before Mrs. Calvert obtained a clear title. Ultimately it became necessary to have an Act of the Legislature to confirm the deed.[23]

The letters of these early years are filled with references to statuary, marble mantels, steps to the portico and other accessories of a home of luxury. Two marble mantels were sent from Amsterdam by Baron Stier. He wrote meticulous details for setting them into the wall and fixing them in place with copper, rather than with iron, to avoid rust spots. He offered to send her blue stone steps and marble entablature for the portico " similar to those at the Mick, which were placed 30 years ago and are still in perfect condition." He also was searching for marble mantelpieces for the other rooms though " the taste of the day is so

[21] Everson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[22] Johnson, *op. cit.*, II, 45.
[23] *Laws of Maryland*, 1815, Chap. 110.

queer; a mixture of egyptian and antique." [24] Rosalie wrote in 1807 that her husband and she were much occupied in improving Riversdale but that "there is still so much to do, I despair of having it finished in less than ten years." She wished that her father could have found a statuette for the pillar of the staircase, for she did not think a lamp would be effective, and asked him to look out for two plaster casts for the north drawing room, one of the Apollo Belvedere, and the other of the Venus de Medici. Her father cautioned that nearly all "antique plaster statues are indecent and are only fit for a design school."

In another letter Stier suggested a European innovation:

> It would be a good idea to put a stairway in your living room to the water closet as it is customary for us to do here; here is a rough sketch; the idea is to build a disposal well outside, six or seven feet square, of open bricks, that is, from distance to distance, an opening to let the water be absorbed so that it is unnecessary to clean the well. The secret of preventing ordor in the living room is to set up a lead pipe five or six feet long, the end of which is connected with a stone or lead tank about two feet square, which is always full of water and has no contact with the air . . . pipe being no more than one inch inside the tank, as is shown in the drawing."

The Baron urged his daughter to develop her taste by having a "painting room."

> It would be unequaled luxury in America for several centuries; no one has the advantage you have to arrange one so easily and economically. For some time I have been making a collection for you, and bought at a low price some well chosen paintings. There is one of two feet which cost me 100 pounds. You should realize that no individual in America has been able to acquire such a valuable collection as those which you have there in boxes. I advise you to take the greatest care of them and protect them against damp and especially steam, plaster and lime.

The picture collection which Baron Stier had brought to America with him in 1794 was indeed a valuable and remarkable one, containing not only the famous "Chapeau de Paille" by Rubens, but also paintings by several Dutch and Italian masters. These pictures remained in crates, stored in the loft of the Rivers-

[24] The reference to Egyptian design seems to describe with some accuracy, at least, one of the mantels installed, for in an article in the *Sunday Star* of Washington, D. C., February 24, 1935, "Calvert Mansion One of the Famous Homes Near Capital," John Clagett Proctor wrote: "Few of the old mantels that belong to the house remain today, though good substitutes are in place. . . . Those removed . . . from the state dining room, according to an early account, were made in Italy of fine Carrara marble, with jambs formed by two marble sphinxes."

dale stable, until 1816, when they were exhibited in the drawing rooms of the mansion. The fashionable world of Washington was invited to see the collection before its return to Holland. For several days, it is said, statesmen and cabinet wives thronged the rooms and compared notes on their favorite paintings. Finally, with meticulous care, the Calverts repacked the paintings and shipped them by the *Oscar* from Baltimore.[25] There remained at Riversdale a permanent collection in which the portraits of Baron and Baroness de Stier were included, as well as the European pictures bought for Mrs. Calvert by her father. At least one statue, too, is recorded—" The Olympian Victor."

Mrs. Calvert wrote for advice about fashionable curtains and other appointments. A constant stream of fine furnishings as well as edibles was sent over by the Baron: wines, kegs of anchovies, linens, etc. Her father promised a gift of a " silver table service consisting of 12 or 14 oval dishes and an equal number in round form that you can . . . intermingle with the small porcelain dishes, as we do here."

Fortunately, there is a glimpse of Riversdale as it appeared in 1812 to a competent observer, David B. Warden, who was intimate with the Washington-Custis circle in the National Capital, and therefore familiar with the Calvert house and estate. He describes the house as 70 feet in length, and 36 in depth, with a large portico on each front.

> The hall is ornamented with lemon-trees, geraniums, polianthusses, heliotropes, and other plants, which, in the summer evenings, invite the humming-birds to taste their sweetness; and afterwards struggling to escape, they fly incessantly backwards and forwards near the ceiling, until from fatigue they perch on a stick or rod, when they are easily taken by the hand. In the saloon there are some fine paintings, particularly *Noah's Ark*, by Velvet [Jan] Breughell [sic]; the *Judgment of Paris*, and the portrait of Rubens, by this great master, of whom Mrs. Calvert is a relation.[26]

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[25] These paintings represented two collections, the Baron's and that of his wife's father, Jean Gilles Peeters. The latter was the larger and more important and was dispersed at auction in Antwerp soon after its return. The Stier collection was sold on July 29, 1822, in Antwerp. It brought the sum of 70,627 florins ($28,250) for the 89 paintings it then included. The " Chapeau de Paille " fetched 32,700 fl., was resold in London and eventually went to the National Gallery. For information on the collection of paintings other than that afforded by the Stier letters, the writer is indebted to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants who is preparing an article on this famous collection.

[26] David B. Warden, *A Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia . . .* (Paris: Smith, 1816), p. 156-157.

Mr. Warden, later United States consul in Paris, was particularly interested in Mr. Calvert's farms:

Mr. Calvert is a good agriculturist, as is evident from his plan of rotation of crops, artificial grasses, hawthorne hedges, and a fine breed of horses and cattle. His farm consists of fifteen hundred acres, for the cultivation of which thirty-six oxen and twenty-four horses and mules are employed. In winter, the former are fed on hay, and in summer on cut grass and clover; the horses and mules on maize, or corn in the ear, or rye mixed with cut straw. Neither horses nor oxen are suffered to pasture in the fields before the commencement of July. The milch cows are always housed at night. During many years, tobacco was the staple production of this district, of which a considerable quantity is still cultivated. An acre usually yields a hogshead, or a thousand pounds, which sells from six to ten dollars. Last season Mr. Calvert had a hundred and twelve hogsheads. The farmers of this district have several crops on hand, owing to the present low price, and the chance of a higher. The tobacco plant thrives well in this soil, which is a mixture of sand and loam. Wheat is now more profitable than tobacco. Some tracts yield thirty bushels per acre; others not more than ten.[27]

What influence the example of his father-in-law may have had on Calvert is not clear. The Baron fancied himself an able farmer, and exhibited ingenuity and a desire to experiment. As he wrote his daughter soon after he returned home, he had felt sure his tobacco and hay would be the best in America, but he thought the meadows ought to be irrigated. He added that he had begun to write an article on the crops best suited to the Riversdale soil, but stopped at the second page, because he felt he had little influence with Calvert. "Nevertheless, I have the reputation of being one of the best agriculturists, but no one is able to convince your husband to try to improve the meadows, and on the care of cleaning the woods."

By the time of the War of 1812 farming was difficult. Nevertheless, another farm was added to the estate by Mrs. Calvert's purchase of 600 acres in 1814.[28]

You ask me if my husband continues to make improvements in farming and I in my gardens, etc. It is with much regret we have abandoned all work of that description for the last two years, which will not surprise you when you consider that we have in store the tobacco harvest of several years, and that since this abonminable war with England everything is double and triple the price, so that we must exercise the most scrupulous economy.

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[27] *Ibid.*, 157-158.

[28] Everson, *op. cit.*, p. 42; letter cited in note 15, p. 253.

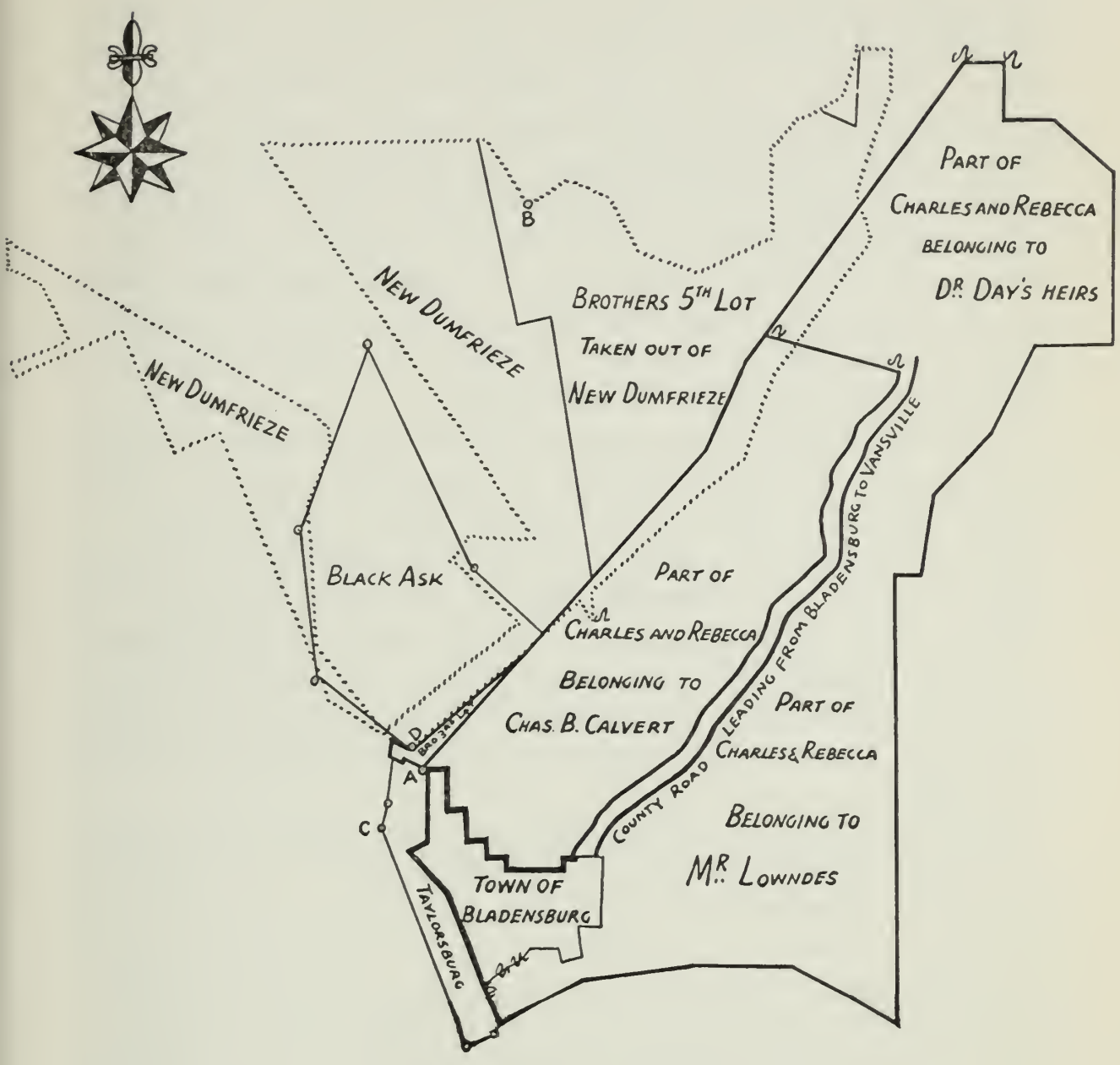
As the Baron had foreseen, the situation of his daughter's home was a most favorable one for meeting important and interesting persons in Washington. The connections of the Calverts with the Custises and various prominent families of Maryland brought them many enjoyable contacts. Mrs. Calvert's sister-in-law, Eleanor Calvert Custis, had married secondly David Stuart and lived in Virginia.[29] Her youngest daughter, Rosalie Eugenia Stuart, was the namesake of Mrs. Calvert. A letter of 1811 hints at the anti-republican convictions of the Calverts. Mrs. Thomas Law, née Eliza Parke Custis, had secured a divorce and resumed her own name. " She behaves very imprudently and is very intimate with Mrs. Madison, and the party we call, in derision, ' the court ' . . . Mrs. Lewis [Eleanor Parke Custis, wife of Lawrence Lewis of Woodlawn] has just left me after having spent the week here. They are making an excellent road from Bladensburg to Washington. A splendid bridge has been built over the Potomac, opposite the Capitol and it is nothing now to go from here to Alexandria."

Meanwhile, following the example of his younger brother George, Edward Henry Calvert of Mount Airy and a friend and neighbor, John C. Herbert, were elected to the Legislature in 1809. " My husband took a very active part in this election. It becomes more and more important for landed owners . . . the other day you might have heard me giving orders for an entire Ox to be roasted for the support of our cause."

You ask me . . . if Mr. C[alvert] is still as gay as when you knew him. I think not. He has generally more to attend to than he can possibly manage, and that is not conducive to gayety. He is always as affectionate and indulgent to me as he was. . . . He has many duties, above all when we have workmen; he is director of the Bank of Washington . . . director of a manufacturing company in Georgetown, and principal agent of a road to be made between this place and Washington. Then he has to direct the work of our different plantations, one of which is eighteen miles from here. . . .

Apparently Mr. Calvert was present at Bladensburg when the battle took place, but in what capacity we are not told. " I am vexed you did not mention the name of the person who said he saw my husband the day of the battle of Bladensburg, I suppose it was Captain Smith whom he met in the English agent's house."

[29] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, 29-30.



PLAT OF RIVERSDALE HOLDINGS

Tracing from the original by Charles Benedict Calvert, dated 1849, in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society

The Calverts more than once planned to visit Europe. The Baroness Stier had died in 1804 and her son, Charles, had become a widower and married again. At Riversdale, new little Calverts appeared on the scene. The eldest, Caroline Maria, born in 1800, was followed by George Henry in 1803, and Rosalie Eugenia in 1806.[30] At this time Mrs. Calvert took out naturalization papers.[31] Of the 9 children born at Riversdale only five reached maturity. Mrs. Calvert died at Riversdale in her 44th year soon after the death of her ninth child. The *National Intelligencer* spoke feelingly of her uprightness, benevolence and exemplary piety.[32] Her husband wrote the Baron that his home was no longer dear to him for, although he had improved Riversdale, he could now take no pleasure in it, having lost his confidante and ablest counselor. The Baron died in June of the same year.

Calvert's interest in Riversdale soon revived. On March 7, 1822, he took title to the plantation of John Davis, called "Ross Borough Farm," future site of the University of Maryland.[33]

The succeeding years were marked by the marriages of all the children except the youngest, Charles Benedict, of whom his mother had long before written: "Charles loves farming, horses —in short everything belonging to a farm." It was this grandson of Henri Joseph Stier, who fulfilled the hopes and plans of the original proprietor of Riversdale and brought the plantation into full fruition.

In 1823 Caroline, the eldest daughter, was married at Riversdale to Thomas Willing Morris of Philadelphia, by the Reverend Walter D. Addison.[34] In 1829 George Henry was wedded to Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. James Steuart, of "Maryland Square," near Baltimore.[35] The next year Rosalie Eugenia, now 24, became the bride of Charles Henry Carter (1802-1892), a son of the Carters of Shirley on the James, and half-nephew of General Robert E. Lee. Bishop William White officiated at the wedding, which took place in Philadelphia at the home of her sister, Caroline.[36]

[30] *Ibid.*, I, 32.
[31] Circuit Court, Prince George's County, April 6, 1806.
[32] Issue of March 15, 1821.
[33] Pirnce George's County Deeds, Liber AB # 2, f. 211. The consideration was $40,000. See also William F. Kellermann, "Rossburg Inn, Landmark of a National Route," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII, No. 3 (Sept., 1938), pp. 273-280.
[34] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, 32.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

The Carters settled at Goodwood in Prince George's County, an estate of 728 acres deeded to her in trust by her father, as the inheritance she was ". . . entitled [to] by the Last Will of her grandfather, the late Henri Joseph Stier and by virtue of the Marriage settlement between her father the said George Calvert and her mother Rosalie Eugenia Stier. . . ." [37]

The youngest daughter, Julia, born January 31, 1814, was married at Riversdale, May 7, 1833, to Dr. Richard Henry Stuart, of Virginia.[38] With this marriage Riversdale became a bachelor establishment, the only child remaining at home with his father being Charles Benedict.

George Calvert died at Riversdale on January 28, 1838, and was buried beside his wife and four deceased children in the Riversdale graveyard.[39] The estate was left to be divided between his two sons. George Henry Calvert, the eldest had chosen to pursue a literary career in the north and spent the greater part of his life in Newport, Rhode Island, where he followed the pattern of the family in taking an interest in politics, to the extent of becoming mayor of that city for one term. The younger brother, Charles Benedict, preferred to reside at the home plantation. He entered local politics, and in 1838, probably under the tutelage of his uncle, Edward Henry Calvert, of Mount Airy, became a delegate for Prince George's County in the Legislature. The following year he married Charlotte Augusta, daughter of the late William Norris, Jr., and his wife, Sarah Hough Martin of Baltimore. The wedding took place June 6, 1839, in the Reverend John M. Duncan's Associate Reformed Church on Fayette Street.[40]

Charles Benedict Calvert's chief interest was agriculture. In recognition of his progressive and successful experiments in this field he was elected president of the Prince George's County Agricultural Society, Maryland State Agricultural Society, and eventually vice-president of the United States Agricultural Society, founded in 1852. As stated in the sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*:

[37] Deed of trust dated Nov. 12, 1836. Prince George's County, Liber A. B. 11, f. 32.

[38] Johnson, *op. cit.*, I, 32.

[39] *Ibid.*, 31. The graveyard is in rear of the Riverdale Presbyterian Church, between the railroad and U. S. Route 1.

[40] Register, Associate Reformed Church, Maryland Historical Society. Thomas M. Myers, *The Norris Family of Maryland* (New York: W. M. Clemens, 1916), p. 42.

At every meeting we find Calvert waging a persistent, determined fight for a Department of Agriculture. When a cabinet minister represents agriculture, he said, the farmer will be appreciated by the government, and proper steps will be taken to advance his noble calling by all means possible; but until such platform is formed and such representative takes his seat in the cabinet the hope the farmer cherishes that the government will regard agriculture as its chief bulwark and cherish its advance accordingly, is fallacious. . . . The Society's influence was concentrated on Calvert's favorite project and in 1853 it adopted his resolution memorializing Congress to establish a department of agriculture.

It was during this period that the Riversdale plantation reached its peak. It was now approximately 2,000 acres. *The American Farmer* noted many of Mr. Calvert's farming developments. It is interesting to see that many projects had been previously expounded in the letters of his grandfather, Baron de Stier. In the August, 1848, issue we read:

When Mr. Calvert came into possession of his estate, the soil, from long continued cultivation of *Tobacco,* without the alteration of clover, had been reduced to a great state of poverty. But by a change system, rejecting the culture of tobacco, and adopting grass culture, he has been able to improve some 50 or 60 acres each succeeding year . . . it being his desire to get most of his 1200 acres of open land in grass. . . . On the southern front of the mansion, contiguous to the lawn, there is a field . . . well set in clover and orchard grass. . . . This field, a few years since was a deep and impenetrable swamp. . . . This melioration was brought about by a series of open ditches and covered drains, which collects and vents the water at all times, and by which an unsightly and unwholesome quagmire has been converted into a fertile meadow.

The same article gives the first published description of the house after the addition of the east and west wings:

We paid a visit to *Riversdale*, the beautiful estate of the Hon. Charles B. Calvert. . . . The *Mansion* is one of those massy edifices which at first view impresses the beholder with the belief it is the seat of elegant hospitality, of refinement, and of affluence.—The main building is 68 by 50 feet, with an elegant *Portico* on its northern, and a *Piaza* . . . on its southern front, each constructed with due regard to classic and architectual propriety. Connected with the dwelling, by corridors, there are two *wings* of some thirty feet front, which add much to the beauty as well as the convenience of the edifice. On either front is an ample lawn with shade trees, . . . shrubbery and flowers, [the] effect . . . gives assurance, that a chastened taste and artistic skill had presided while there were being fashioned into form. The barn is in keeping with the mansion, having . . . its *portico*—it has a front of 80 feet, running back 40 feet, and combines in its arrangements every convenience, every accomodation peculiar to such

structures. These improvements were made by the present proprietors' ancestors, in the beginning of the present century, but are still in a state of the most perfect preservation—nor could they be otherwise, constructed as they were, of the best materials, by the most skilful workmen, and in the most substantial manner. Judging of the future by the past, we should presume, that they are destined to remain as monuments of the style and spirit of their age, for centuries yet to come.

The writer paid high tribute to Mr. Calvert and his wife, ". . . his estimable consort who stands unsurpassed in those becoming virtues and rare accomplishments, which dignify the character of a lady . . . Long may she continue to preside, as now, the chief attraction, the concentrating point of affection—at her own beautiful Riversdale."

The Calverts were frequently hosts to many of the nation's prominent citizens, among whom was Henry Clay. His active interest in agriculture was the common ground on which a long and rich friendship developed. He was a frequent visitor at Riversdale, and the northeast bedroom became known as the " Clay Room." Here he is said to have drawn up the drafts for the 1850 Compromise.

During this period the Washington artist, Jesse Atwood, was at Riversdale painting the portraits of Mr. Calvert and each of his four young sons. The eldest, George Henry, was painted with his St. Bernard dog; Charles Baltimore in riding habit and holding a riding crop; William Norris, age five, is wearing a little black hat with a feather pompom and red velvet coat. The picture of the youngest, Eugene Stier, shows him standing beside the seated figure of Henry Clay, holding in his outstretched hand the scroll of the Compromise.[41] More than likely this was the last portrait of Clay, since he died shortly thereafter. In one of his last letters to his son, Thomas, he wrote: " You and your Mary yourselves could not have been more assiduous in your attentions, than are my friends, the Calverts." [42]

In a later issue of the *American Farmer* reference is made to another addition to the plantation, the famous octagonal barn. " The whole plan and arrangement present the most complete of

[41] Three of these portraits are owned by the estate of John Wentworth Calvert. The fourth, that of William Norris Calvert, is owned by his daughter, Mrs. William West Holland, mother of the author of this article, and the fifth, of Charles B., is owned by his daughter, Mrs. W. D. Nelson Thomas.

[42] Calvin Colton, *The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay* (N. Y., Barnes, 1856), p. 225.

the kind ever erected in the U. States. Mr. Calvert has received many applications for a copy of the plan of his buildings." [43]

C. B. Calvert is commonly regarded as the prime mover in establishing the Maryland Agricultural College. The original site of the institution was the 428-acre Ross Borough farm, acquired in 1822 by Calvert's father, for the sum of $40,000.00. This tract, and the present Rossburg Inn, were sold by George Henry and Charles Benedict Calvert, to the College in March, 1858, for $20,000, the latter " remaining its creditor " for his part in the amount of $10,000. In addition he loaned the Corporation $2,000 cash. Calvert was elected the first president of the trustees of the College, which was later to form the nucleus of the present University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland.[44]

Formerly a Whig, Mr. Calvert was elected in 1861 by the Union Party to the 37th Congress as a representative from Maryland.

His eldest child and only daughter, Ella, became the bride of Duncan Green Campbell (1835-1888) at Riversdale, September 3, 1861. He was the son of John A. Campbell, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, later Secretary of War for the Confederacy.[45]

Charles Benedict Calvert died May 12, 1864, at the age of 56. Mrs. Calvert and her brother-in-law, George Henry, were named co-executors of the estate, but Mrs. Calvert declined to serve.[46] Shortly after the marriage of her eldest son, George Henry II, in 1872, to Frances Seybolt,[47] Mrs. Charles Benedict Calvert joined her third son, William Norris, in Baltimore, where he had established himself in the grain and flour commission business, as William N. Calvert & Company, 89 South Street. After the death of his mother he was married by Cardinal Gibbons to Laura Hunt.[48]

George Henry Calvert II, eldest son, and his wife, Frances, established residence in the Riversdale house, and remained in possession until 1887.[49] In June of that year the mansion was sold

[43] Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1854), p. 54.

[44] Prince George's County, Deeds, Liber C. S. M. No. 2, f. 294; *Report of the Trustees of the Maryland Agricultural College,* 1864, pp. 13-14.

[45] Johnson, *op. cit.,* p. 37; *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[46] Prince George's County Wills, Liber WAJ No. 1, f. 278.

[47] Johnson, *op. cit.,* I, 45.

[48] At the Cardinal's residence, June 11, 1887, Cathedral marriage records. Issue one child, Rosalie Eugenia Calvert who married Dr. William West Holland of Virginia.

[49] JWB No. 8, f. 426, 520.

by George Henry and his younger brother Charles Baltimore Calvert, trustee, to a real estate syndicate of New York. The other heirs by degrees disposed of their 350-acre shares.

Charles Baltimore Calvert, the second son, married Eleanor Mackubin [50] and lived at MacAlpine, the home that he built on his portion of Riversdale, a little east of the present town of College Park. With the sale of MacAlpine to the government during World War II the last of the Riversdale holdings passed out of the hands of the family.

On a mound of rock at the south front of the mansion is an ancient piece of ordnance, said to have been one of four or five cannon that constituted the armament of the *Ark*, one of the two vessels that brought the colonists to Maryland in 1634. It has been stated that these cannon were mounted in Fort St. Inigoes, built in 1637 to guard the water approach to St. Mary's City. During the summer of 1824, Captain Thomas Carberry, while visiting his brother, the Reverend Joseph Carberry of the Jesuit Mission at St. Inigoes, dredged out of the river several guns which were visible at low tide at the site of the old fort. One of these is now on the grounds of the State House, Annapolis, another is at Georgetown University and another at the reconstructed State House at St. Mary's. This appears to be one of the same pieces, for it has almost exactly the same dimensions as the gun at Annapolis. The type is that of a demi-culverin, or "great gun" of the 17th century, as described in Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*. The length is 9 feet and the bore 4½ inches. How this piece came to Riversdale has not been discovered.[51]

[50] George N. MacKenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States of America* (Baltimore: Seaforth Press, 1911), p. 163.

[51] For assistance in determining the type of this gun thanks are returned to Dr. M. L. Peterson of the Smithsonian Institution and Mrs. John Logan Jewett, a member of the Maryland Historical Society. See also J. Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland: Eddy Press, 1913), p. 221; *Niles Weekly Register*, Baltimore, XXVII, 5 (Sept. 4, 1824); Fanny C. Gough, "Fort St. Inigoes," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL, 59 (March, 1945).

PORTRAIT OF A COLONIAL GOVERNOR: ROBERT EDEN

II—HIS EXIT

By Rosamond Randall Beirne

ROBERT EDEN, ex-Governor of Maryland, sailed out of Annapolis harbor on the 20-gun ship *Fowey*, commanded by Captain Montague, and joined ex-Governor of Virginia Dunmore's fleet, down the Chesapeake Bay. Dr. Upton Scott, Richard Tilghman and three other gentlemen besides Eden received permission to take passage to England on the merchant ship *Levant*, the victualler or store-ship for the fleet, and transfered somewhere off the Virginia Capes.[1] They reached England in August 1776. Eden went at once to his brother William in the Colonial Office to make his official report on his lost province. He did not learn until then that the Colonies had declared themselves free and independent states. He did not know until then that, because of this news, the Lord Chancellor had thrown the Harford-Browning law suit over Lord Baltimore's will out of Court, declaring "It was a waste of time and that he had no power to give the rightful owner possession."[2] His personal baggage and his wines followed him but later news confirmed the report that the stores left on the Annapolis dock and the contents of his house had been confiscated by the State of Maryland.

Eden had been in England but a week or two when he received a letter from Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, announcing a reward from his grateful government. Germain spoke of "the King's entire approbation of your conduct" and announced that "His Majesty is pleased as a public mark of his favour, to create you a Baronet."[3] The new Baronet

[1] *Archives of Maryland,* XII, 24, 87.

[2] *Charles Browning's Chief Explanation* quoted in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (3 vols., Baltimore, 1879), II, 138.

[3] Germain to Eden, September 7, 1776, "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* II (1907), 138.

of Maryland answered from Downing Street that very day and modestly thanked His Majesty. This happy ending to his colonial affairs temporarily salved the feelings of a young man out of a job. He wrote the good news to his friend Eddis, still in Annapolis, closing out the business of the Loan Office, and in short order it was relayed to all the Loyalist families still in residence in Maryland.

Little is known of Robert Eden's life for the next seven years. His mother, the elderly Lady Eden, like all mothers, worried about her second son. "You rather disappoint me by saying nothing about Bob," she wrote William Eden. "I cannot help thinking with anxiety how my poor Bob is to live now he has got to England." [4] He would not have wanted to join an army fighting his former friends in America and if Great Britain won the contest he would most surely have returned as their Governor. There was nothing to do but apply for a pension and bide his time. Reunited with his family, he sought rest from his arduous labors of the last year, paid a lengthy visit to his sister, wife of the Bishop of Bangor (later Archbishop of Canterbury), and sojourned in Durham, the seat of his brother, Sir John, before settling in London.[5] He was in constant communication with the Rev. Jonathan Boucher and all other refugees from whom he could gather news of Maryland. The Dulany clan, Addisons, Ogles and others, gathered at the Montgomerys in London where they had little to do except worry over the confiscation of their estates by the new government. Laws had been passed in Maryland decreeing that former citizens who had left the country, or those still remaining who refused to aid the new United States, must suffer the penalty of either fines, imprisonment or banishment.[6] Merely receiving letters from England, opened and censored en route, was sometimes enough to place the receiver in an embarassing position with the local government. Rebecca Dulany Hanson writing to her brother Walter Dulany from Oxon Hill, Maryland, says:

Your old friend Carr who has been a Prisoner in this country for some months is at Liberty again. His confinement was owing to some letters he

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[4] Rev. Robert Allan Eden, *Some Historical Notes on the Eden Family* (London, 1907), p. 34.

[5] Robert Eden to Walter Dulany, August 15, 1777, Bangor Palace, quoted in Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Robert Eden,* Johns Hopkins Universtiy Studies (Baltimore, 1898), p. 140.

[6] Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 303.

received from Mr. Boucher which gave great offence. I should think it would not be improper to let Mr. B. know this, he would certainly be more on his guard.[7]

It is doubtful if Mr. B. would have taken the hint for he still felt it his place to tell the upstart Americans, including his erstwhile friend, General Washington, exactly how wrong they were. There were two distinct groups of exiles; the wealthy Americans whose education and interests had been in England and the British office-holders, who though long resident in the colonies had never changed their allegiance. Most of those who still called themselves Marylanders felt unhappy and in an alien land. Samuel Curwen resented the " conceited islanders " who were continually referring to " *our* colonies and *our* plantations " and calling the Americans contemptuous terms. He wrote in his diary that he was " Sick at heart and tired of a sojurn among a people who after all, are but foreigners." [8] Dr. Upton Scott, too, was dissatisfied with life in London and retreated to Belfast, his native city. These country colonials, so long removed from their British habitat, homesick for their families left behind, grew less sure of their conviction that the British Empire must be upheld, and secretly rejoiced at the news of American victories.

Eden was not given to vituperation and he must have longed often for the easy and pleasant life of Annapolis. When William Eden was sent to America as a commissioner to negotiate for peace, Sir Robert sent by him a long letter to his old friend, George Washington. To this the overworked General replied in part on June 12, 1778:

> I thank you much for your care of the Letters addressed to myself. The one from your Brother gave me particular satisfaction, as it not only excited a pleasing remembrance of our past intimacy and friendship, during his residence in this Country, but also served to show that they had not been impaired by an opposition of political sentiments.[9]

William Eddis had written the former Governor whenever he could get a letter through the lines. One from New York, July 23, 1777, gave a lurid picture of the new government: The best people feared to take office; few even bothered to vote; inflation; insults

[7] Dulany Papers, January 20, 1782, Maryland Historical Society.
[8] Samuel Curwen, *Journal 1775-1784* (New York, 1842), p. 90.
[9] John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *Writings of Washington* (39 vols., Washington, 1931-44), XII, 52.

to those considered Tories; fortification of Annapolis, right to the Governor's garden wall; and assurances of the victory of British arms.[10] But the war dragged on and the stubborn Yankees refused to admit defeat.

The Loyalists, enduring the hardship of long exile on reduced incomes, saw the vanishing prospect of recompense by the British government for their losses. What debts they had in America were to be paid from the sum realized by the sale of their confiscated property there, but in the meantime they had to live. The Edens sent their youngest son to school at Mr. Boucher's in 1779 and the worthy pedagogue noted that Sir Robert had borrowed £1200 from Harford and that he (Boucher) had gone on his note.[11] Henry Harford came of age that year and began plans for seeking restitution of his estates and province as soon as the war was over.

At last, in 1782 the war ended and all the exiled Marylanders who had survived, drifted back to their homes, for the most part in humble spirit. Robert Eden had been granted by his government the largest pension (£800) of any on the Loyalist list.[12] Until the treaty was settled none of them knew what compensation could be gained in addition and the British government, in negotiating, was constantly embarrassed by the continual appeals of the Tories. The United States commissioners felt it impossible to restore property already confiscated and were unwilling to compensate their former enemies when they could not completely compensate their own patriots. Congress finally agreed to recommend to the states that they provide restitution in certain cases and that persons be allowed lawful means to regain property.[13] Harford and his former guardian lost no time in drawing up their appeal to the Maryland Assembly for redress and prepared to present it in person.

Both Baltimore newspapers report their arrival on the ship *Harford*, Captain Nathaniel Richardson, from London via Madeira. One account reads, " In the Harford came passengers, the right honorable Henry Harford, esquire (proprietor of Mary-

[10] William Eddis to Robert Eden, July 23, 1777, British Public Record Office, quoted in Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 312-315.

[11] Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist* (New York, 1925), p. 188.

[12] Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1902), p. 255.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 287. See also Lorenzo Sabine, *American Loyalists* (Boston, 1847), p. 1-114.

land prior to the late revolution), sir Robert Eden, Robert Smith, and John Clapham, esquires." [14] Eden, Harford and Smith, their secretary, repaired to the home of Dr. Upton Scott on Shipwright Street. Scott, now in his sixties and none too well, had obtained, through his universal popularity, a special pass through the line in New York for himself " his cloathes and his medicines " and had returned in 1780 to join his wife at her plantation, Belvoir, a few miles up the Severn River from Annapolis.[15] There he lived in " elegant retirement " and could offer the hospitality of his town house with its lovely garden to his visiting friends.

The Assembly met in October but the claimants were told by their advisers that it would be better to wait for the definitive peace treaty to be signed before approaching it. There was nothing to do but to have patience and to try to reclaim as far as was possible the old and pleasant way of life. Annapolis was trying hard to forget the war and was dusting the Assembly room in the prospect of balls and other entertainments for Congress when it convened. The race tracks had opened for an expected good season. As one interested horse-breeder said to another, " Is not so fine a stud of Breed mairs in this State for the blood.—The goal [jail] will be full by March Cort as it was of Torys the like has never bin knowne here by Report." [16] The old Tories were living as unobtrusively as possible, most in reduced circumstances. Benedict Calvert and his family still occupied Mount Airy and its broad acres, unmolested. Of Eden's other friends, Col. William Fitzhugh and his wife had spent the period of the war away from Rousby Hall at a farm more remote from scenes of activity. His son, George, had taken the oath and continued to live at Epping in Baltimore County. William Digges of Warburton had died before June, 1783, as had Barrister Carroll. Richard Lee was advertising his town house for sale and the *Gazette* carried many other such notices for the sale of property to settle debts. It was hard to be gay with so many of the old Court circle missing. Inflation and the lack of all trade had impoverished the erstwhile rich. The State had planned to sell six slaves, the property of Robert Eden, but Eden had previously sold them to satisfy a personal debt. Word

[14] *Maryland Gazette or Baltimore General Advertiser,* August 15, 1783. See also *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore) of the same date for almost identical story.

[15] *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 348-349.

[16] Cornelius Conway to John Galloway, March 1738, Bellvoir Farm. *Galloway Papers*, Vol. 17, Library of Congress.

came that Sir Guy Carleton had received orders to evacuate New York City as soon as possible and that the definitive treaty was on its way to America.

The former Proprietary and his former Governor believed that it was their right to issue land patents on unclaimed parts of the old province and to receive fees for them. Eden, therefore, brought some signed patents with him and signed others while in Annapolis. It was not long before the full censure of the Assembly fell on his head.[17] William Paca, the Governor, and his Council sent the data from the Register of the Land Office to Luther Martin, the Attorney General, to decide whether Robert Eden should be tried for forgery, treason or fraud. Eden listened to reason, said he was sorry, and signed no more patents.

When Congress, rotating from one city to another, assembled in Annapolis on November 26, the town was agog. Lodgings had to be found for all the members, though many were missing from the roll call. Thomas Jefferson, member from Virginia, wrote wearily to his family that they could not muster a quorum and so could do no business. "We have never yet had more than 7 states and very seldom that as Maryland is scarcely ever present. Consequently we do nothing."[18] Perhaps Eddis was right when he told Eden that the important men would not accept responsibility of office. Those that would were worked hard. Judge "Jere" Chase had to adjourn court in order to attend Congress and other men like James McHenry were members both of Congress and the Assembly. It took from November until January to collect the needed quorum of 9 states to ratify the treaty. Jefferson and Monroe together rented a Dulany house and were attended by Partout, a remarkable French cook.[19] It was just before Christmas that Jefferson, McHenry and Gerry, acting as a committee, arranged a ceremony toward which all America had been looking. General Washington was arriving to resign his commission to Congress. He was met on the outskirts of the town on December 19 and spent the following three days renewing old acquaintances and being entertained in a grand manner by the Assembly and by Congress. Between the official entertainments

[17] *Archives of Maryland*, XLVIII, 506, 517 (Feb., 1784).
[18] Paul Leicester Ford, editor, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (10 vols., New York, 1892-99), III, 347.
[19] Marie Kimball, *Jefferson, War and Peace* (New York, 1947), p. 354.

tradition has it that the General dined quietly at the Scott house on Shipwright Street with Sir Robert Eden and Henry Harford.

On Tuesday, the 23rd, the Senate Chamber of the little State House was crowded to capacity. Mrs. Washington, with other ladies, was admitted to the gallery where they had a good view of the dignified presiding officer, General Thomas Mifflin, enthroned in a great chair on a very small platform. General Washington's hands and voice shook as he read in measured tones his short but moving address. There was scarcely a dry eye in the whole packed assembly as he strode out to grasp the hands of many of his old soldiers. Annapolis, however, never wept for long and while dinners and balls could not perhaps be on the elaborate scale of those of this week-end, nevertheless, there were other occasions and other days. Congressmen writing home both praised and condemned the gayety. "Our Adjournment to Annapolis has certainly had a good Effect: the Object of the Inhabitants here is altogether pleasure; Business is no part of their System." [20] Those who felt that they were there for business, like Jefferson, grumbled, and some without private means had difficulty living with the constant temptation of "plays, Balls, Concerts, routs, hops, Fandagoes and fox hunting," on the stipend of $4 per day as a Congressman.[21]

Historians have assumed and so stated that Robert Eden was in bad repute with most Marylanders and was at this time practically in hiding. Nothing could be farther from the fact. Sociable and kindly by nature, it was easy for him to see his American friends again and feel confident that they would want to see him. We have the record of two eyewitnesses that the ex-Governor was not hiding his light and was quite as much in evidence as other Annapolitans. James Tilton wrote to Gunning Bedford, Christmas Day, 1783:

> Every man seemed to be in heaven or so absorbed in the pleasures of imagination, as to neglect the more sordid appetites, for not a soul got drunk, though there was wine in plenty and the usual number of 13 toasts drank, besides one given afterwards by the General which you ought to be acquainted with: it is as follows. 'Competent powers to congress for general purposes.'

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[20] Elbridge Gerry to Stephen Higginson, March 4, 1784, Edmund C. Burnett, editor, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols., Washington, 1921-36), VII, 461.

[21] David Howell to Jonathan Arnold, February 21, 1784, *ibid.*, VII, 451.

And he added, " Sir Robert Eden and Mr. William Harford [*sic*] attended very respectfully. They were also at the public dinner and dance." [22]

James McHenry has left us a graphic account of the Governor's ball:

" Sir Robert Eden would have persuaded one by being of the party that he had lost all remembrance of his having been the owner of the house in which he danced, and late governor of Maryland—but the thing could not be, where every person he met, and every picture and piece of furniture he saw, served to remind him of the past, or brought up the recollection of pleasures he could no longer repeat. This state has taken away his property, and a libertine life his constitution. He finds himself a dependent on persons he despised, and insignificant on the spot where, but lately he was everything. He sees his old parasites and companions, enjoying places under the present government, and devoted to new interests. He is without a train of followers obedient to his pleasing will. He perceives that even the hearts he is said to have subdued by his entertainments or warmed by his gallantries have altered by time or submitted to other seducers. If we look for the cause of his return to this place in his pride—that would not suffer him to sue for favor from men he so lately considered rebels. If in his interest, he will be blamed for meanness. If in his poverty, he is certainly to be pitied. So situated and circumstanced I could neither believe him happy or at his ease, unless I had supposed, that, with his estate and constitution he had lost his sensibility. . . .

Sir Robert danced with Mrs. Plater [23] Mr. Smith, his secretary, with her daughter. Mr. Clapham, formerly receiver of rents, was at the card tables. Mr. Harford did not dance, but was sometimes seen chatting with the ladies and sometimes with himself.

Such a blended assembly—men of so opposite principles and manners—those who had lost estates and those who had them,—those who were once the greatest and who were now among the least—those who were once nothing, and who are now everything—ladies who shone under the late constitution, and some few of both sexes, whose value and merits no revolutions could diminish—all conspired to excite reflections and to afford amusement. The scene did not cease to be interesting till near twelve o'clock—when I retired to my apartment.[24]

The ladies, too, wrote to each other of the attractive visitor in town: " Our friend was there in scarlet and gold. You know I always thought him superior to most. We supped with him two

[22] James Tilton to Gunning Bedford, Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, XXVII, footnote p. 285-286.

[23] Elizabeth Rousby, second wife of Col. George Plater of Sotterly, St. Mary's Co. Plater, then a Maryland delegate to Congress, was later Governor of the State.

[24] Letter to Margaret Caldwell, Dec., 1783, Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 66.

nights ago at a snug party." [25] Mrs. John Ridout kept her mother, Mrs. Samuel Ogle, still in England, in touch with affairs in Annapolis.

"We have a very pretty and agreable little man here, Mr. Harford. I hope the Assembly will do something handsome for him—they ought when they have taken such a noble estate from him. He is much liked. Sir Robert Eden seems in bad health. He does not flirt now. They are very agreable neighbors to us. They live in Dr. Scott's house. The Doctor himself is in an ill state of health."

It was common knowledge that Sir Robert was an ill man [27] but he was far from *persona non grata* to the Annapolitans nor was he keeping out of the public eye as has been stated. In England the old Court coterie were anxious to know how Eden and Harford were progressing with their claims against the State. William Vans Murray among others wrote from London to Henry Maynadier to ask "What is the affair of Sir Robert Eden? how ended?" [28] Congress finally ratified the peace treaty and adjourned June 3, 1784. The Maryland Assembly had too much business to finish before its adjournment and so the Harford claims were postponed until the next session in the fall. The summer dragged on. Seven French battleships lay at anchor in the harbor and the townspeople, like the chorus of a musical opera, danced out to give their brave allies a good time. Lafayette stopped by between trips to Mount Vernon and Baltimore to confer with his countrymen. General Washington, too, put up for a night on his way north. In the torrid heat of an Annapolis summer, worn out by illness and perhaps by disappointement, Robert Eden died.

The *Gazette* carried no news of his death. In the issue of that week (Sept. 2, 1784) was advertised the Fall racing season; the opening of King William's School; the wares of increasing mercantile trade and the dramatic Mr. Hallam's course of lectures.

[25] Henrietta Hill Ogle (Mrs. Benjamin Ogle) to Miss Lowndes, undated (probably 1783 or 1784), Kate Mason Rowland, "Maryland Women and French Officers," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVI (1890), 658.

[26] Lady Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland,* London, 1912), p. 276, letter dated January 16, 1784.

[27] The Rev. Robert A. Eden to Bernard C. Steiner, June 7, 1895, quoting a letter from William Eden to Morton Eden "that R. E. had fallen into bad health in his latter days and his life had become rather a sad one for some time before his death." Maryland Historical Society.

[28] Wm. Vans Murray to Henry Maynadier, London, May 20, 1784, Maryland Historical Society.

The real news was that three boys had been brutally murdered on a bay schooner, but Henry Harford paid for a notice to the public that he " purposed to apply to the next General Assembly for such restoration of, or compensation for, my confiscated property as they in justice shall think proper." And Robert Eden was laid to rest without the knowledge of the man on the streets.

However, *The Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser* of Friday, September 10, a paper by that time of much larger circulation than the *Gazette*, carried the death notice in full:

> A few Days ago departed this Life, at Annapolis, with great Resignation and Serenity, after a long Indisposition, Sir Robert Eden, Bart. who presided as Governor of this State previous to the late Revolution. This Gentleman was a Branch of a respectable dignified Family and was much respected for his many amiable qualities.

This clears any doubt as to the non-secrecy of his death and as to the esteem in which he was held by even such ardent patriots as the newspaper readers of Baltimore. Further local proof of his death was the notice in the *Gazette* for Sept. 9, 1784, stating that " Application will be made to the next general assembly, on behalf of the heirs of the late Sir Robert Eden for restitution of property or compensation for the same," signed by R. Smith, his secretary. We can only suppose that news of his death was received too late for publication the week before and was stale news by the next issue on the 9th. It took four months to reach the refined columns of *The Gentleman's Magazine* published in London and to have the exact date of death recorded:

> September 2, 1784
>
> In Maryland. Sir Robert Eden, Bart. late governor of that province, brother of Sir John Eden, Bart. and the Abp. of Canterbury's lady. He had returned to that state a few months ago for the recovery of his property pursuant to the provisional articles of peace and his death was occasioned by a dropsy in consequence of a fever. This property came to him from the late Lord Baltimore whose sister he married, by whom he has left two sons, the eldest of whom now at Oxford succeeds to the title.[29]

The place of burial of Sir Robert has interested local historians for these 166 years. An old citizen of Annapolis, writing her memoirs some time before her death in 1840, made several comments on Eden whose friend her husband had been. She

[29] *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, 1785, Vol. 54, p. 876. " Deaths of Considerable Persons."

assures us that "He [Eden] changed before death, took the sacrament, and at his death he requested to be buried in S. R. Churchyard." [30] "S. R. Churchyard" was taken by the editor to mean South River or All Hallows Church, whereas it could also stand for Severn River (St. Margaret's) Church. That it was the latter was made clear in 1841 when David Ridgely published his *Annals of Annapolis* and stated definitely that "he was buried under the pulpit of the Episcopal church on the north side of Severn, within 2 or 3 miles of this place. This church was some years since burned down." [31] Another old citizen of Annapolis added to this evidence and gave a reason for Eden's grave being outside the city bounds. Alexander Randall's copy of the *Annals* has been annotated by him, apparently at his first reading of it in 1841.[31] Around the margins of the page he wrote

> Gov. Eden was buried there because the Vestry of St. Anne's Church had ordered that [no] more burials should take place in the Churchyard and they had opened the 'Grave yard,' a present to the Church from Miss Bordley, for the purpose to be thereafter used as the City Cemetery. Gov. Eden's friends wanted his case to be an exception but the Vestry refused to allow it, hence he was interred in the Parish on the north side of Severn. When I was a boy Gov. Eden's relation came to Annapolis to seek his grave. My father told them where it was, but he after a careful search could find no trace of it. If the friends of Gov. Eden had allowed him to be buried in our Cemetery no doubt his grave would have been known to this day.

This margin-writer's father [32] lived in Annapolis during Eden's administration, was a vestryman of St. Anne's Church, and must have known all the facts of his death and burial. These facts he passed on to his son,[33] also a citizen and vestryman of the same town. In 1784 the Episcopal Church in America was struggling to reorganize. In Maryland Lord Baltimore's appointees had brought the church into disrepute in many parishes. Methodism had converted many of its members. Between 1781 and 1784 St. Anne's Vestry met only at Easter, while the wealthier members had in anger withdrawn their subscriptions to pay for the ministrations of an ill rector and for the completion of the church itself, already

[30] Mrs. Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV (1919), 270.

[31] This annotated copy of Ridgely's *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841) is owned by Alexander Randall, M. D., of Philadelphia.

[32] John Randall (1754-1826), merchant of Annapolis.

[33] Alexander Randall (1803-1881), attorney-at-law and banker of Annapolis.

many years in building.[34] It seems clear that a city cemetery was needed because of the enlarged church building and because the churchyard was filled to capacity. However, the city cemetery at that moment was merely an open field, sloping down to the waters of Dorsey's Creek, and Eden's friends hesitated to subject his body to possible neglect. They hesitated, also, about refusing to comply with his desire to be buried in a churchyard.

If not St. Anne's then St. Margaret's Westminster, was the most convenient church and one with which the Governor may have had some associations. It was the parish church of Horatio Sharpe when he was at Whitehall, as it was of his successor to that estate, John Ridout. It stood exactly across the Severn river from Dr. Upton Scott's planatation, Belvoir. We know that Dr. Scott was living at Belvoir[35] and since he was not only Eden's most intimate friend but also his personal physician, it is possible that he removed the ill man from his town house and brought him to the country where he could be nursed by Mrs. Scott and her sister. As medical advisor, Dr. Scott must have foreseen what was apparent to all observers that spring, the seriousness of the disease with which Eden was afflicted and he must, also, have known his dying wishes. Therefore, with no intent of secrecy, he probably would have placed the coffin on a barge and have had it rowed to the opposite river bank for burial in the nearest church.

St. Margaret's Westminster predates any Anglican parishes in the neighborhood. There was a church at this point as early as 1692. Following the destruction of this church, a second was built about 1731 which was standing in Eden's time and was the parish church for those living in Broad Neck Hundred.[36] The second church burned about 1823 and the new church to take its place was erected at a site several miles away, considered more convenient to the congregation. This St. Margaret's survives and gives name to that community in Anne Arundel County. A few old inhabitants knew of the tradition that a church and burial ground

[34] Rev. Ethan Allen, *Historical Notices of St. Anne's Parish* (Baltimore, 1857), p. 92.

[35] From advertisements in the *Maryland Gazette* and from a letter of his nephew, Hugh Birnie, owned by Miss Amelia H. Annan, Taneytown, Maryland: " June 10, 1783. During the Doctor's Abstence [*sic*] Mrs. Scott recided at a Country Seat a few miles from Annapolis where they still continue to live and I have never heard that she was desturbed in his abstance."

[36] Percy G. Skirvin, *First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 123.

had been on a certain piece of property, long since given over to agriculture. Ploughshares would turn up bricks and someone remembered that a tombstone had been dug up and used since as a door step. Elihu Riley, author of *The Ancient City* tried in his turn to find Eden's grave but could only report the tradition that people knew that " an English Lord " had once been buried near Winchester Station.[37]

In 1923 Daniel R. Randall,[38] an amateur antiquarian, undertook to find Governor Eden's last resting place. Armed with his father's recollections, he sought out for questioning all the ancients, both white and colored, of that section of the county. Eventually an old Negro ploughman told of underground bricks on part of the Winchester farm. Mr. Randall had a long crowbar made with a spike on the end and, assisted by a willing son, began to prod a field which lay close to the steep river bank at Severn Heights. Before long they hit masonry from two to three feet below the surface. Other ardent antiquarians, particularly architects, were consulted who sketched in a phantom colonial church with proper and possible orientation.[39] Nothing daunted by enormous trees and a jungle of honeysuckle which had grown up within the boundary of the walls, the brick outline was laid bare by a local laborer who was accustomed to " Mister Dan's " historical vagaries. The owners of the corn field and copse, Mr. and Mrs. Walter T. Moon, became interested in the project and did everything they could to assist.

Bearing in mind that interments were usually made at the chancel end of a church, which would be facing east, a thorough probing was made of that section. When in August a well-built brick vault containing a complete skeleton was uncovered, the archaeologists were jubilant.[40] But with this discovery the " force," Aaron Day and his helper, vanished, and persistent personal persuasion to return was effective only after another six months had passed. The skull and pelvic bones were carefully removed and taken to Dr. Adolph H. Schultz, anthropologist in the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, for classification. Dr. Schultz was quite positive that the skeleton was that of an elderly woman but wished to see the breast bone (clavicle) to complete his case.

[37] Elihu Riley, *The Ancient City* (Annapolis, 1887), p. 157.
[38] Daniel R. Randall (1864-1936), attorney-at-law of Annapolis and Baltimore.
[39] Howard Sill, J. Appleton Wilson, Charles W. Johnson, and J. Hall Pleasants.
[40] D. R. Randall to J. Appleton Wilson, undated. Copy in possession of R. R. B.

Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, one of the antiquarians, accordingly went back to Winchester for the missing part. Dr. Schultz was then even more positive that the bones were those of a woman and the small size of the skeleton had already caused doubt in the minds of the enthusiastic historians that it could be Eden's body. The scientific denial was, of course, a grievous disappointment.

Winter had now set in and the weekly trips had to be abandoned. To make doubly sure that the vault did not contain the remains of Governor Eden, another nationally known anthropologist was consulted. Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, could not come over from Washington until spring but when he studied the skeleton he agreed completely with Dr. Schultz. It was clear that more excavating must be done.

The Society of Colonial Wars in Maryland, of which Mr. Randall was a member, had agreed to support his undertaking financially and historically, and appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Randall, as chairman, Mr. J. Appleton Wilson and Mr. J. McC. Trippe, to report on progress. During the winter months every effort was made to unearth more data. Lacking any church record of burial or other documentary evidence in Maryland, a London researcher was engaged to find portraits or other material on the physical aspects of Robert Eden. One portrait of the Governor, painted by Charles Willson Peale, was known to exist in England but is was felt that the Eden family, which was large and scattered, might own other illuminating evidence. Mr. Randall had been in active correspondance for some time with Sir Timothy Calvert Eden, the titular head of the family. Sir Timothy, to whom both the Baronetcies of West Auckland and of Maryland had descended, still owned Windlestone, County Durham, famous for its gardens.[41] But, unfortunately, no letters or likenesses of Robert Eden were known to be in this family fastness. The London researcher read all the Eden letters at the Colonial Office, all the records of the Cold Stream Guards, and found nothing that would throw light on the Governor's physique.

By the summer of 1925 Aaron Day had recovered from his fright and returned to the site of St. Margaret's ruins. The architects interested in the project decided that the whole chancel end must be cleanly excavated and then, if no other bodies were found, the nave of the church. The pulpit, they decided, if not

[41] Sir Timothy Calvert Eden, bart., *The Tribulations of a Baronet* (London, 1933).

near the chancel would be at the center of the south wall. With cord the whole area was laid off in squares and patiently probed foot by foot before clearing. No sign of graves, other than the vault first found, was discovered. With pick and shovel the entire foundation wall was uncovered to its base. "The foundations are at least twenty four inches through and built of a mixture of hard burned and salmon brick laid in white oyster shell mortar. The building as I measured it was 50′ by 27′6″ wide and is exactly east and west in its central line," wrote Mr. Randall.[42] In spite of a bees' nest and poison-ivy the foundation wall was cleared to a depth of three feet. Probing along the south wall was the next step and there, a little to east of center, the rod sank in a hole. This was the signal for further digging and there, in November, in a clay subsoil was a completely undamaged skeleton and the remains of a mahogany coffin. No metal or other means of indentification, except a few handforged nails, could be found.[43]

Because this skeleton was very large and because no other bones were turned up in a complete excavation of the interior of the church, the historical searchers were very hopeful that their objective had ben reached. The long bones were submitted again to Dr. Schultz and a second scientist, Earl W. Swinehart, D. D. S., was selected to inspect the skull and jaw. Dr. Swinehart had made a lifetime study of the color and shape of teeth in relation to age and genetic type. Being given an almost complete set of teeth in excellent preservation he became fascinated in the problem of rebuilding the entire face with what other bones there were. All night he worked with modeling clay and wire and was able the next day to state with some assurance the probable physical features of a man whose identity was to him unknown.[44] The two doctors agreed on every point as to age, sex and type and Mr. Randall cheerfully reported the findings to all the interested parties, Sir Timothy Eden, the Society of Colonial Wars and local historians:

> With winter coming on, I am pushing the matter of identification, etc., of the remains which I am convinced are those of Governor Robert Eden. From such portions as I have carefully removed for examination I learn the following facts; that the subject was an Englishman, or at least an

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[42] Randall to Wilson, August 31, 1923, copy in possession of R. R. B.

[43] Randall to Mrs. Walter T. Moon, owner of the property, Nov. 13, 1924, copy in possession of R. R. B.

[44] Interviews with Dr. Schultz and Dr. Swinehart, 1950.

Anglo-Saxon, of six feet in height, whose age at death was between forty and fifty. One scientist even goes so far as to declare that he was a blond in coloring, with peculiarities as to facial expression and teeth, which would be a very exact means of identification had he lived in these modern times when photographs and dentists are our every day concomitants.

Add to these facts the further one, that no other remains appear to exist in the church and our search is reduced to two in number; the first, pronounced a woman, lying in a brick tomb, at the north of the center of the Church; and the other buried in a simple wooden casket, and lying to the south, or pulpit side, of the chancel. This latter, of course, bears out the only documentary evidence that I possess which indicates the pulpit side, or beneath the pulpit, as the last resting place of Robert Eden. The fact that he was not buried in a tomb merely convinces one that the whole ceremony was rather hastily arranged, and possibly with the intention of a later removal to England. I have concluded that the only wise procedure is to have a metal box constructed to contain the remains, and have the same hermetically sealed, and replaced exactly where we found vestiges of the wooden casket.[45]

The scientists' vedict could now be checked against what facts were known. Only tall men were recruited for the Cold Stream Guards. Mrs. Rebecca Campbell Key in her memoirs stated that "He [Eden] was a favorite of the people and a very fine person, tall and commanding. General Washington previous to the period of his escape always staid with him when in this city. They resembled in stature. I had seen them walk arm in arm."[46] Washington is known to have been six feet and two inches tall so Eden could have been very little shorter. Robert Eden was 43 years old at the time of his death and this was the approximate age shown by the teeth and the skeleton.

Before giving public recognition to the findings of its committee, the Society of Colonial Wars requested the Maryland Historical Society to form a committee to give serious study to the data. Mr. J. Appleton Wilson, who had taken part in the search from the start, Mr. Bernard C. Steiner, author of the only published work on Robert Eden, and Mr. Louis H. Dielman, librarian of the Peabody Library, all distinguished scholars, were the committee appointed. After discussion and study they passed a resolution, submitted it to the Maryland Historical Society as a whole for approval and thus gave the full weight of that organization in confirming the findings of Mr. Randall and his committee. The

[45] Randall to Mrs. Walter T. Moon, Nov. 24, 1924, possession of R. R. B.
[46] Key, *loc. cit.*

evidence proved, in so far they could see, that the bones were those of Robert Eden.[47] The case was considered closed and the public was notified through the press that the remains of Governor Eden had been discovered.

Now that the body had been found the question was how to mark his grave and honor his memory. The owners of the property were willing to fence off the church enclosure and allow a monument marker there but several legal difficulties arose. The title to the land was in doubt, now that it was proved to have been once part of St. Margaret's parish, and also perpetual care of a grave and marker on a farm was thought impractical. The rector and vestry of St. Margaret's church were anxious to have the Governor reinterred in the graveyard of the new church. The Governor of Maryland and his Attorney General [48] were asked for official opinions; permits from the County Health Officer were obtained for possible removal of the bones, and the presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, at that time also Bishop of Maryland [49] was asked for an interpretation of the Church Vestry Acts. Sir Timothy Eden, as head of the Eden family, was also notified of the discovery of the body of his great, great, grandfather and asked for suggestions as to burial.

Another six months elapsed before various discords could be harmonized. The Moons agreed to permit the bones to be moved if St. Margaret's Vestry would not claim their field. Sir Timothy felt that Maryland was the place for the Governor to remain. With the coming of another summer and with the consent of all parties involved it was hurriedly decided to re-inter the body in St. Anne's churchyard, Annapolis, where there was now room, protection and an ever interested vistiting public. The State of Maryland contributed $100 and the Society of Colonial Wars in Maryland the balance. A handsome Italian marble stone of contemporary design, with the Eden arms and appropriate lettering, was designed by Howard Sill and J. Appleton Wilson and made by the Hilgartner Marble Co. A copper box with the remains had been left at the old church ruins and this was now placed in a bricked grave contained within the circle of land still surrounding the Episcopal church in Annapolis. Formal ceremonies took place

[47] Records of the Maryland Historical Society. Resolution, November 6, 1925.

[48] Hon. Albert Cabell Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, 1920-1935, and Thomas H. Robinson, Attorney General, 1924-1930.

[49] Rt. Rev. John Gardner Murray, D. D., Bishop of Maryland, 1911-1929.

on Saturday, June 5, 1926. Governor Ritchie, Bishop Murray, the Hon. John Balfour, Secretary of the British Embassy, an intimate friend and relation of Sir Timothy Eden, Josias Pennington, Governor of the Society of Colonial Wars in Maryland, all took part. Representatives of many patriotic societies were present. The only unfortunate note was that the rector of St. Margaret's church was offended by the shifting of burial from his church to another and refused to give the invocation.[50]

So at last, after 142 years, Robert Eden came to rest in the very spot he had on his deathbed desired. This last colonial governor has become a symbol of the close ties between the English-speaking peoples. He stands as a strong link in the chain that makes for happy relationship between Maryland and Great Britain and with poetic license carries out the wishes expressed in a poem of 1769:

> Long as, or grass shall grow, or river run,
> Or blow the winds, or shine the glowing sun,
> May Eden and his sons here reign and stay;
> Themselves as happy as the realms they sway.
> . . . . . .
> So long, transmitted to remotest Fame
> Shall live, unsullied Eden's honoured Name.[51]

[50] Randall to Wilson, June 5, 1926, copy in possession of R. R. B.

[51] *Maryland Gazette*, August 3, 1769, "On the Arrival of His Excellency Robert Eden, Esq., to his Government of Maryland," author unknown.

WHY BRICKS WERE IMPORTED

By Charles E. Peterson

IN THE *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December, 1949 (Vol. XLIV, No. 4), there was published an 18th century record of brick imported to Baltimore. Further investigation has revealed documentary explanation as to why brick was used for ballast.

There was no shortage of good brick clay at Baltimore and brick was made and used for local construction from an early date.[1] The young city was actually *exporting* brick by the end of the Revolutionary War.[2] In the year 1807 the prohibition of new frame buildings in the central part of the city,[3] increased the production of masonry materials. By the year 1822, 32 million bricks were made within the city limits.[4]

The reason for bringing in brick from abroad lies not in any scarcity in America, but rather in the troublesome matter of disposing of ballast. Cargoes coming across the Atlantic from Europe were lighter than those going back. Heavy material had to be carried to stablize the ship on the voyage west. But once the cargo was unloaded in port, the ballast immediately became a nuisance.

The ballast problem in harbors was universal. The " Duke of York's Laws " of 1676, pertaining to the Hudson, Delaware and tributary rivers, prohibited the casting out of ballast into any channel " or other place inconvenient " under a penalty of £10.[5] Similar prohibitions were in force in New England and Jamaican

[1] There were four brick houses as early as 1756. Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Wooddy, 1829), p. 32.

[2] 16,100 bricks were exported between October 1, 1789 and July 1, 1790, Griffith, *op. cit.*, 132.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[4] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Everts, 1881), p. 418.

[5] J. B. Linn, comp., *Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc.* (Harrisburg, 1879), p. 12.

ports.[6] Early action was also taken to protect the fine natural berthings on the waterfronts of Chesapeake Bay.

As early as 1691 the general Assembly at Jamestown had enacted a law of regulation:

> FORASMUCH as the throwing and casting of stones, gravell, and other ballast out of the ships and vessells, arriveing into the rivers, creeks, and ports of this their majesties country and dominion of Virginia, is found very distructive and dangerous to the passage of vessells, sloops, and boats, and a stopping to the chanels of the said creeks; for prevention of which mischief . . . it is hereby enacted, that . . . no master or masters, owner or owners, of any ship, sloop, boat, or other vessell or any other person or persons whatsoever, do cast or unload their gravel or ballast, at or in any of the rivers, creeks, ports, havens, or harbours of this country, but on the land only, above high water marke. . . .[7]

The penalty for violation was again fixed at £10 sterling. A similar law was passed in 1705 at which time it was also prohibited to throw bodies of dead slaves into the harbors.[8] In 1748 the law was strengthened, and it was required that ships clearing for departure had to produce a certificate giving evidence that ballast, if any, had been deposited ashore. A penalty of £50 was alternative.[9]

A revealing proviso was added to this regulation: "*Provided always*, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prohibit or restrain the master of any ship or other vessel, bringing limestone, chalk, bricks or stone for building, to lade or put the same on board any other vessel, in order to be carried or transported to any place he shall think fit." [10] This indicates that useful ballast such as building materials might be lightered to building sites along a town waterfront or to the numerous fine plantations that faced the streams of the Tidewater country.

The Maryland laws followed those of Virginia. In 1704 it was enacted that "No person or persons whatsoever whether Inhabitant or fforeigner trading with Shipps or Vessells of Greater

[6] *An Abridgement of the Laws in Force and Use in Her Majesty's Plantations* (London, 1704), Jamaica, p. 96; New England, p. 9.

[7] William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia,* III (Philadelphia, 1823), pp. 46, 47.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 353, 354. A sad commentary on the African slave traffic.

[9] *Hening, op. cit.,* VI (Richmond, 1819), 100. By 1785 every Virginia county and corporation was required to appoint a "ballast-master" to supervise these matters at a compensation of 5 shillings per day. *Ibid.*, XII (Richmond, 1823), 180, 181.

[10] *Archives of Maryland*, XXVI, 426.

or lesser burthen having a Deck shall unload or Cast out of their said Shipps or Vessells any kind of Ballast into the Harbours or Creeks where they ride but shall lay the said ballast on the shore above high water Mark. . . . " The fine was to be 2,000 pounds of tobacco. A law of 1734-1735 complains that, in spite of previous regulations, " safe and very good Harbours are already spoiled, or rendered dangerous." Specifically, the dumping of ballast in all rivers and creeks—and in Chesapeake Bay itself about Cedar Point—was prohibited, penalty, £50 sterling.[11]

Such limitations gave rise to practical difficulties in the handling of ships. They meant that after unloading at his berth, the ship's master had three alternatives: (1) of casting off his lines, being towed to deep water to throw out the ballast, returning to tie up for reloading; (2) of carting worthless ballast from the ships' side to some place where it could be dumped—an expensive operation, or (3) of selecting ballast of value, such as building materials, which could be easily disposed of on the waterfront, possibly even at a profit. All manufactured products, such as brick or cut stone, were cheaper on the other side of the Atlantic.

An example of the latter idea turned up in an advertisement in the *Baltimore Daily Repository* for March 24, 1792. Nicholas Slubey & Company therein advertised that from the ship *London*, about to return to England, they were offering for sale some 80,000 brick to be " sold cheap, if taken from the ship's side." [12]

Very little documentary information has turned up on construction actually built from foreign brick. Doctor Charles Carroll is said to have built Mount Clare mansion of imported brick in 1754.[13] A few years later its north porch of stone was built from stone cut in England, following architectural plans sent from Baltimore.[14] Numerous other examples are mentioned in local tradition along the Atlantic Coast.[15] Use of such imported building material was undoubtedly confined to seaport towns and

[11] *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 300. Other regulations were made in 1752. Griffith, *op. cit.*, 33.

[12] The same firm had for sale English coal, grindstones and flagstones, all of sufficient weight to have served as ballast.

[13] Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[14] " Letters of Charles Carroll the Barrister," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXVII (1942), 62.

[15] For example " Chaulkley Hall " on Frankford Creek, Philadelphia, and " Belvoir " on the Potomac. It is a matter of record that in 1770 thirteen loads of ballast stone went into the foundations of Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia.

plantations along tidal streams where a minimum of carting was required.

In the same way " stone coal " was widely used in seaport towns in the eighteenth century, especially before the development of the James River mines in Virginia. It was imported, like brick, in small but steady quantities.[16]

Brick was also shipped in coasting vessels. Philadelphia customs records during the Embargo of 1808 show permits to carry brick as ballast to New Orleans in the brigs *Neptune* and *Mary*.[17]

[16] Comparable records from the West Indies appear in the *Barbados Gazette*. From Liverpool, " coals " (July 4, 1787); from London " bricks and tiles " and Liverpool, " bricks " (March 1, 1788); from Glasgow, " coals "; from Liverpool, " coals and bricks " (August 9, 1788); from London and Southampton " greystock bricks, coals " (February 18, 1789). Accoridng to Fello Atkinson and Will Onions, " On the Ocean's Bosom Unespied," *Architectural Review* (London), CVII, No 642 (June, 1950), 413, ". . . in Barbados and other West Indian Islands a considerable number of early houses are in brick brought as ballast by the sugar boats."

[17] *National Archives, Treasury Department Records. Letters to the Collector, Philadelphia, Pa.*, Vol. I, 273, 286. At New Orleans brick had been made of native materials since the early eighteenth century.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Seaport in Virginia. George Washington's Alexandria. By GAY MONTAGUE MOORE. Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1949. x, 274 pp. $10.

It is well to keep your paths open these days, or the chances are that when you visit familiar haunts you will find them changed beyond recognition, either by the bulldozer or (more subtly and agreeably) by the hand of the restorer. This latter, happily, has been the fate of Alexandria. Twenty years ago this reviewer knew it as a shabby go-as-you-please Virginia town of great charm, with an enormous population of old ladies —their faces etched, as a rule, by breeding, humor and individuality. At that time the new life was just beginning down near the primal ooze of the waterfront, where tumbledown little brick houses were being jerked back to a Pomander Walk respectability. From there the renaissance spread up into the town with a technique growing ever surer as more and more people of discrimination found in Alexandria an acceptable substitute for expensive, overcrowded Georgetown, and proceeded to dig in. Where architectural beauty had survived, it was comforted by fresh paint and repairs long withheld; where it was submerged under accretions of the gingerbread age, it was liberated to rejoice eyes that had forgotten its existence.

Leaders in this pious task of restoration were Colonel and Mrs. Charles Beatty Moore. Having purchased in 1929 the lovely George William Fairfax house in Prince Street, they found such joy in bringing it back to its original state that their enthusiasm spread beyond its walls to every survival of Alexandria's historic and architectural past. Drawn forth by their interest, an incredible body of documents and records came to light, and the memories of old people stirred and gave forth their traditions. The story of all this has been told with charm and scholarship by Mrs. Moore in her book *Seaport in Virginia.*

Like most Virginians, Mrs. Moore is a born genealogist, and at first blush it might seem her pages are too heavily freighted with family records to suit the average reader. However, she brings to life so many really important personages who figured among our country's founders, that one is reminded of Henry Cabot Lodge's tribute to eighteenth-century Virginia: "We must go back to Athens to find another instance of a Society so small in numbers, and yet capable of such an outburst of ability and force." Towering above all others, of course, is the august figure of Washington, whose varied interests during his occupancy of near-by Mount Vernon pervaded the whole town. Mrs. Moore gives her book the subtitle

" George Washington's Alexandria," and makes intelligent use of the first President's personality as the central element around which the volume is built.

Lack of space prevents this review from doing full justice to the manner or the matter of Mrs. Moore's admirable achievement, or from dwelling on the strange nostalgia that leads so many people to creep back into the shell of the past. If this is to be regarded as a protest against the age in which we live, Mrs. Moore, her illustrator and her publisher have combined to produce a powerful justification for it.

J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul

The Index of American Design. By Erwin O. Christensen. Introduction by Holger Cahill. New York: Macmillan, 1950. xviii, 229 pp. $15.

The Index of American Design was an admirable and valuable undertaking of the WPA Federal Art Project. It was organized in 1935 as a direct result of the depression years, the need of artists for employment, the need of the Government Work Program for projects that would maintain the skills of the unemployed, and the public need for pictorial information on American folk art. It is a vast collection of drawings and paintings of examples of the work of early artists and craftsmen of the United States.

European nations had for a long time collected their native design material and published many illustrated books on the subject. Even the Nazis had very thoroughly photographed the mural decorations in churches, thus making available to students a mass of material not otherwise usable. But in this country research among the crafts had been made possible entirely by the efforts of individuals and occasionally by historical museums.

During the compilation of the Index work progressed well in New England and in the Middle Atlantic States where much early American material was avilable and artists of competence to undertake the recording. It progressed less well in the South and in some parts of the West because of the lack of material and trained artist personnel.

This survey of American design shows us that the first two hundred years of this country's material culture expressed something more than frontier civilization and proves that old tradition and folk memory lie behind the making and decorating of the simplest article of daily use. Today in a machine civilization we sometimes forget that technology was born of a handicraft tradition and we are apt to lose ourselves in complete isolation from the individual craftsman's skill.

Interest in American crafts today is much too vigorous to be antiquarian. Year by year we close the gap between the machine and the hand tool as we learn that the machine is yet another instrument for man's creative skill in making articles of daily use.

The National Gallery of Art is the custodian of the Index, which

although incomplete, is according to Mr. Cahill the most nearly comprehensive collection of its kind in the world. Mr. Erwin Christensen of the staff of the Gallery is the author of the text. Included are 378 illustrations in black and white and in color, a complete subject list, an index, and a bibliography.

JOHN H. SCARFF

A Cruising Guide to the Chesapeake. . . . By FESSENDEN S. BLANCHARD. New York: Dodd, 1950. 233 pp. $5.

There are, of course, about a dozen books on the Chesapeake area, for example Swepson Earle's *Chesapeake Bay Country* (1923), J. T. Rothrock's *Vacation Cruise in Chesapeake and Delaware Bays* (1884), and *Cruises Mainly in the Bay of the Chesapeake*, by Richard and George Barrie. Blanchard's book is the newest addition to the list.

The author apparently spent only about a year and a half gathering his data—far too short a time to get to know the 27,000 miles of navigable shoreline (for a boat drawing 6 ft. of water) sufficiently well to compare the Bay with Long Island Sound, the Great Lakes, or the Pacific Coast. If one could cruise 6 hours a day at five miles an hour, it would take 900 days, or almost 3 years, to cover our shoreline, leaving just enough time out to get the baby christened and visit the tailor! A good friend of mine has spent 2½ years getting material for just such a book, and hasn't finished the preparation job yet.

The author frankly says that he is leaving history, architecture and old homes, with a few exceptions, to others. But how can anyone discuss the Chesapeake Bay country without mentioning the early incidents of its history? Mr. Blanchard omits the fact that on Kent Island and on the Severn occurred the earliest frays between English settlers on this continent.

It is well known that during the War of 1812 the British burned Washington, sailed down the Potomac, and turned up the Bay. Annapolitans, of course, thought they were headed for Annapolis. Instead they wintered in the Elk, and in the spring attacked Baltimore and were repulsed at Ft. McHenry, where Key wrote "The Star Spangled Banner." This schedule gave the Annapolitans time to float timber and cannon across the Severn and build a hidden fort on Greenberry Point. As the scattered British fleet fled down the Bay from Baltimore (the only large city on our coast never captured by an enemy), the men of Crabtown, as Annapolis is fondly called, sank a Britisher which tacked in too close. For years oystermen have been tonging up muskets and parts of this wreck; and the fort's old powder chamber, dug back of the gun emplacement, was not entirely destroyed by erosion till shortly before the government built the radio towers and revetted the shore.

What Mr. Blanchard has written, after visiting only a part of the whole, is helpful as far as it goes. But it makes us gasp a bit and say thank heaven

for Uncle Sam's Coast Pilot and Colonel Roland Birnn and Fred Tilp and their articles from the *Chesapeake Skipper!*

The Chesapeake has almost everything that the coast and sound from Cape May to Cape Elizabeth can offer except rocks and fog and a few degrees in weather—but not too many hot days if you make comparisons. And isn't it nice to have a place like the Chesapeake, with elbow room and no rocks or fog? The chapter "City Isle to Sandy Hook" is great and long overdue. The advice and instructions on entering the Jersey channels from the ocean between Sandy Hook and Cape May are splendid. The charts and illustrations are excellent.

RICHARD H. RANDALL.

Jefferson and Madison, the Great Collaboration. By ADRIENNE KOCH. New York: Knopf, 1950. xv, 294, xiv pp. $4.

A professed "study . . . in the history of ideas," *Jefferson and Madison* is primarily a study of the correspondence that passed between the two philosopher statesmen. Jeffersonians will recall with gratitude the valuable monograph Miss Koch supplied in her *Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson;* her new book is of a very different character, for here Miss Koch is less philosopher than historian and her new role appears less fortunate.

The author's purpose—apart from assuring the reader that she disdains "doctrinaire" liberalism—is to present "a systematic study of the friendship of Jefferson and Madison in working out a comprehensive ideology of democracy." This "systematic study" is presented against the backdrop of the "friendly collaboration" of the two Virginians. Such a study might, with profit, have included an examination of the ideas of James Madison, and a discussion of their origin, formulation, and impact upon Jefferson's thought and action.

The first substantial study of the theories and political philosophies of Jefferson and Madison may be found in Douglass Adair's yet unpublished Yale doctoral dissertation, *The Intellectual Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy.* While a few of the ideas found there are incorporated in *Jefferson and Madison*, it is to be regretted that no real examination of their substance and import for the two Virginians is attempted. Miss Koch provides instead a heavily historical study of Jefferson-Madison letters, which, with some interesting illustrations, serves to demonstrate Jefferson's pragmatic turn of mind as contrasted with Madison's deeper logic.

The most valuable of the illustrations is the account of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; as presented here, however, it resembles a less detailed (and less forceful) version of the excellent article Miss Koch and Harry Ammon published in the *William and Mary Quarterly* of April 1948. This chapter serves well to show Jefferson's high valuation of liberty and freedom, and his belief that there was no easy or safe alternative to "eternal vigilance." Miss Koch's analysis had peculiar significance for Virginia when she first condemned:

> All who invoke principles whose language they found in these powerful protests of 1798 and 1799 [the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions], but who use those principles to thwart civil liberties and to restrict human and political freedom, are arraying themselves in the supposed ranks of Jefferson and Madison while burying the substance and spirit of the famous Resolutions penned by these two great Virginia Republicans. — p. 211.

It is indeed an illuminating chapter, showing clearly how history is abused, how Jefferson continues to be the whipping boy of politicians. This chapter must be regarded as the core of the book, and a major contribution to scholarship. The remainder is not new, but has the benefit of Miss Koch's familiarity with the field, and the advantage of her ability to summarize and synthesize. There were a few unintentionally misleading passages which irritated this reviewer unduly: As is observed, Jefferson was no pacifist (pace Louis Martin Sears), yet he always believed his Embargo policy to be a practicable alternative to war, obsessed as he was by the rationality of showing the English their real *interest*. (See Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Digges, August 10, 1808, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). And Jefferson had other reasons for insisting upon Charlottesville as the location for his University: it was the most satisfactory way to secure the intelligent conversation of professors at his mountain-top home. (See Philip A. Bruce's *History of the University of Virginia*).

Few historians in the realm of ideas are able to achieve a happy balance in their presentation of historical background, and too often dull writing is an unfortunate feature of such presentation. Frequently they presume too much upon the reader's ignorance or omniscience. Miss Koch's new volume is in very good company.

H. Trevor Colbourn

The Johns Hopkins University.

Riding Straight. By D. Sterett Gittings. Selected Writings Compiled and Edited by Victoria Gittings. Baltimore: C. C. Giese Co., 1950. xi, 165 pp. $3.50.

My first acquaintance with Sterett Gittings was many years ago, but I recall very well the impression which he made upon me, of a brave, warm-hearted man, facing life gladly despite his heavy handicap of deafness. That early impression has been confirmed and illuminated by the perusal of the little book, compiled by his sister, which has now come out, as if to show the world how valuable to his fellows a man can be, if only the heart of him be equipped with bravery, honesty and cheerfulness. Without great accomplishments to boast of, judged by popular standards, this man managed, through the help of his sports and his genuine love of his friends, to be glad of his days, and to make others glad whom he met on the way.

The chief appeal of *Riding Straight,* presumably, will be for those who

put their faith in horses, but even for those others who agree with the psalmist that "a horse is a vain thing for safety" and shall not "deliver any by his great strength," they will have their indifference to horse-flesh somewhat modified when they read how much of delight Sterett Gittings derived therefrom. His life might have been a dreary one rather than a glad one but for this absorbing interest. For those like-minded with him, they will find abundant evidence in the pages of the book to justify their choice of a hobby, yet it is by no means given over altogether to horses, hunting and racing. It is replete with scenes of social and sporting events, the details of which will recall vividly enough many personalities, once so prominent and now all but faded out of memory. It is to be noted before we finish this curious little volume, that there is no incompatability between the temperate enjoyment of sports and the possession of a devout mentality. The little poem entitled "A Prayer" on page 147, specially worth reading, will bear me out in this.

It is not often that we are offered so good an opportunity to see behind the curtain of isolation which surrounds each of us, and so have glimpses of another human being's inner life, in this case a clean-minded sportsman and gentleman in every sense.

W. H. DeC. WRIGHT

Simon Cameron's Adventure in Iron, 1837-1846. By JAMES B. MCNAIR. Los Angeles, California: the author, 1949. xi. 160 pp. $3.85.

This useful study of the early Pennsylvania iron industry is based on a collection of manuscript materials of the McNair family and Simon Cameron. Although the period covered is only a decade, these years were troubled ones in the American economy and especially in the iron industry. The author gives an interesting, although somewhat loosely written, account of one of the blast furnace establishments typical of the central counties of Pennsylvania in the first half of the 19th century. Some phases of the material will be familiar to readers acquainted with Swank, Clark or Bining. This is particularly true of the account of such matters as the construction and operation of the blast furnace, raw materials, and transportation. Fortunately the nature of the personal and firm records available to the author enable him to throw interesting light on the much less familiar business aspects of the industry. The problems of marketing are described in some detail in the longest single chapter of the volume, entitled "Furnace Products and the Iron Market." This chapter is followed by a briefer one on "Furnace Finances," which recounts the financial difficulties of the firm and the efforts to resolve them in a period of hard times.

Much the greater amount of space in this study, however, is given to detailing the internal history of the partnership under which the business was conducted. While the treatment is descriptive rather than analytical, the student not only of the iron industry but of business history will

welcome the insight provided into the operation of what was the most common yet in some respects the least well known of the forms of business organization in use during the period before 1850.

The study is very thoroughly documented; the notes fill forty-three pages as compared with one hundred and ten of text.

LOUIS C. HUNTER

The American University.

Round-Shot to Rockets. A History of the Washington Navy Yard and the U. S. Naval Gun Factory. By TAYLOR PECK. Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute, 1949. 267 pp. $3.

This volume attempts to celebrate in 250 pages the 150th anniversary of the Washington Navy Yard, now called the U. S. Naval Gun Factory, a name more descriptive of its present function, the manufacture of naval ordnance. As Mr. Peck has no trouble demonstrating, the Yard, throughout its long history, has been one of the more important Naval installations for shipbuilding, ship repair, and ordnance.

This fact demands either a much more extensive treatment than is given here, or a discriminating choice of topics. Instead, Mr. Peck has set out to tell everything he has garnered in the way of " anecdote, legend, and cold fact." Stirred together in chapter and paragraph are descriptions of the layout of the Yard and of guns and ships built there; the reception of distinguished visitors and prisoners; number of workers employed and the wages they earned; Civil War battles; and the attitudes of Presidents, Secretaries of the Navy, Congress, and the public during periods of war and peace. Omitted almost entirely is a subject which might appeal to some as most interesting—that is, the inner administration of the yard.

Although students of Naval history can pick out of Mr. Peck's presentation valuable leads and bits of information, the absence of bibliography, footnotes, and index will make their search both more difficult and less rewarding. The book is, however, handsomely illustrated with photographs and sketches. These, together with the wealth of information it does contain, however undigested, will no doubt lead those with a personal interest in the Yard to value it as a worthwhile souvenir.

BLANCHE D. COLL

St. James of My Lady's Manor, 1750-1950. By ROBERT NELSON TURNER and ELMORE HUTCHINS. Baltimore: 1950. xi, 113 pp. $2.50.

From that sportsman's Garden of Eden, the Manor, comes this history of the Church that is celebrating its 200th anniversary. As a Chapel of Ease for Old St. John's of Joppa Town, it can lay claim to having taken an active part in the life of Maryland prior to the rise of Baltimore Town as the State's metropolis.

The narrative bristles with difficulties encountered by those who founded and kept the church going from the rough beginnings up to the time when, the worst obstacles overcome, a safe harbor seemed to have been at last attained. This, at least, is the impression received by outsiders.

As befits its location in a famous sporting section of the State, horses have always played an important part in the life of St. James's Parish. In earlier times essential as a means of transportation, they now have a different place, though one of little less importance, in the set-up. Revenues from ladies' tournaments and the annual horse shows go far toward stabilizing the finances and the Thanksgiving Day meets, with the blessing of the hounds, attract large crowds eager to view this picturesque ceremony. The well turned-out riders, some pink-coated, on their spirited mounts, the massed hounds—all against a scenic background of the choicest, form a picture not easily forgotten.

To sum up—not only to members of St. James Church but to all interested in the early annals of Maryland will this compact and entertaining volume prove valuable. The writers have set an example that other old parishes might do well to follow—if they can produce chroniclers approaching these in ability!

VICTORIA GITTINGS

And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861. By KENNETH M. STAMPP. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. xii, 331 pp. $4.50.

Professor Stampp, formerly of the department of history of the University of Maryland and now of the University of California, Berkeley, wrote this book on the assumption that much can be learned about the Civil War from a detailed examination of the northern reaction to secession during the five months between Lincoln's election and the firing upon Fort Sumter. His work clearly establishes the validity of his assumption. Students of the American sectional conflict may well profit from this admirable account of the views toward secession of northern radicals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, editors and politicians, office-holders and electors.

Perhaps the most penetrating section of this book is the chapter entitled "Exercises in Constitutional Logic," an essay that deserves to be read by all who are interested in constitutional history. The author considers here the semantics of the northern arguments, for example, the subtle and labored distinction made between *coercion of states* and *enforcement of the laws*. And agreement as to what constituted *aggression* and *defense* was as sadly lacking then as it is now. He concludes that "loaded words were dangerous weapons" and that "soldiers would make the tragic discovery that a pointed abstraction might be as deadly as a pointed pike."

Professor Stampp writes judiciously of the two Presidents who were faced with the problem of secession. He dissents from the popular school-

boy appraisal of Buchanan as a completely inadequate weakling. And as for the view that Lincoln maneuvered the Sumter powder keg deliberately to start a war and thereby save his party from disintegration, the author concludes that, while that may have been the effect of Lincoln's actions, "the Machiavellian implication that he started the war to achieve that purpose remains unproved."

The book is based upon research in primary materials, and the bibliography of manuscript collections and newspapers used is quite impressive. The materials used represent all shades of northern opinion, in all sections, and in both parties. One feels that the author's researches justify a longer book, but there is a great deal to be said for a three-hundred-page book, even when it is as well written as this one.

DAVID A. SHANNON

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

United States Submarine Operations in World War II. By THEODORE ROSCOE. Annapolis, Md.: The United States Naval Institute, 1949. xx, 577 pp. $10.

In the attack on Pearl Harbor the United States Navy Submarine Base escaped a single bomb hit, a circumstance which the Japanese were to regret. By December 11th two American undersea vessels departed Hawaii for Far Eastern waters—the tiny beginning of a later vastly increased war of attrition which accounted for 5,320,094 tons of Japanese naval and merchant shipping. No phase of that campaign is neglected in this voluminous book. The author simply explains overall strategy and clearly outlines the development of tactics. He narrates in detail stories of individual patrols and discusses their physical and mental effects on the crews. He includes accounts of the secret landings of raiders and coast watchers, of the evacuation of civilian and military personnel from enemy territory, and of pre-invasion reconnaissance missions. Too, he discusses frankly the little-known torpedo scandal. That the United States entered the war with inferior torpedoes of which a high percentage also were defective was unfortunate enough; that almost two years passed before naval ordnance authorities became convinced of certain defects and corrected them was little short of criminal in a nation with the technical ability of the United States. The book contains over two hundred photographs, diagrams, charts, maps and original drawings, most of which are excellent. An extensive appendix lists such information as American and Japanese losses, citations, statistics and combat records of individual submarines. The index is well organized.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Historic Midwest Houses. By JOHN DRURY. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947. x, 246 pp.

Galland's Iowa Emigrant: Containing a Map, and General Descriptions of Iowa Territory. [Reprint issued by State Historical Society of Iowa]. v, 28 pp.

Your Family Tree. A Hobby Handbook. By GARLAND EVANS HOPKINS. Richmond: Dietz Press, 1949. 58 pp.

Cracker Parties. By HORACE MONTGOMERY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1950. vii, 278 pp.

Mural Painters in America. Part I. A Biographical Index. By ESTHER AILLEEN PARK. Pittsburgh: Kansas State Teachers College, 1949. 182 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Adams—Beavers—Gibbons—Wanted: Ancestors of John Adams, Sr. (1680-1744), in Charles County, Md., about 1710, having emigrated from Hagley, England, to Annapolis. Also ancestors of Elizabeth Naylor, who married John, Sr. She was from Prince George's Co.

Ancestors of Sarah Stacy Gibbons, who married 1743 Johns Adams, Jr.

Names of children and wives of George W. Adams (1747-about 1803), rev. veteran, also of Chas. Co., Md. Want ancestors of 2nd wife. Was she Elizabeth Mass?

Ancestors of Hannah Beavers and Mary A. Holbert (1800-1869), 1st and 2nd wives of Geo. Roswell Adams (1802-1888). George was born in Chas. Co., later lived in Tucker Co., Va. (West). Could this Geo. R. be a descendant of John Quincy? / & wife.

ELDON B. TUCKER, JR., M. D.
617 Grand St., Morgantown, West Va.

Forrest Family—Will pay for authentic information on parents and forebears of Rev. Jonathan Forrest, born February 20, 1754 at Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County, died October 12, 1843 in Frederick County. He was a Methodist clergyman.

Miss Elsie W. Butterworth,
Wallingford, Pa.

Moore—Information is desired as to parentage and ancestry of Elinor Moore who married Wilford Carrico in Charles Co., Md., January 9, 1796. She was born in 1776, in Charles Co.

Carrico—Any information relative to where, when and to whom Basil Carrico was married will be appreciated. He was born circa 1747 in Bryantown Hundred, Charles County, son of Peter and Margaret (Gates) Carrico.

Col. Homer E. Carrico,
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Texas.

Perkins—Information is desired regarding the parentage of William Clayton Perkins, supposedly born in Centreville or elsewhere in Queen Anne's Co., Md., in 1800 or 1801, and living in Elkridge Landing in 1844. He was drowned about 1857.

William C. Perkins,
114 St. Dunstans Road, Baltimore 12, Md.

Reid—In what Maryland county was the home of Leonard Ried and family between the years 1814 and 1824? He had sons by the names of Mathew M., Nathan, David, and William L. and several daughters.

Thomas Cawood or Caywood was born April 16, 1793, in Maryland. I wish names of his parents. Thomas and his sister, Elizabeth, were left orphans at an early age, and were raised by a family named Poore. Thomas married Hannah Huffer in Frederick county, Maryland, September 29, 1822.

Joseph Huffer and Catherine Miller obtained a marriage license in Hagerstown, September 29, 1801. They were married by the Reverend Mr. Greedy. They lived in or near Burkittsville, Md., in 1829. I would like names of their children, and location or place of residence of Joseph Huffer at the time of his death.

(Miss) Alta R. Chrisman,
2125 South Street, Lincoln, Nebr.

Parker Prize for Genealogy—The closing date for entries in the 1950 Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prize Contest for the best Maryland genealogies is December 31, 1950. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner, to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal largely with a Maryland family or families. Prizes for 1950 will be: First Prize, $45; Second Prize, $30; Third Prize, $15.

SOME GENEALOGIES RECENTLY RECEIVED:

The Descendants of Peter Carrico of Charles Co., Md., compiled by Homer E. Carrico (1950).

DeWitt-Peltz, A Supplement to Peltz-DeWitt (1948), compiled by W. L. L. Peltz (1950).

The Descendants of Matthew Ebert, compiled by Russell H. Anderson (1950).

The Learned Family, compiled by W. L. Learned (1882).

The Descendants of the Four Grandfathers of Walter Samuel, Jr., and Mary Louise (Wootten) Carpenter, compiled by George Valentine Massey II (1950).

Shivers Genealogy, compiled by M. O. Shivers (1950).

Speer Family Records, compiled by Charles E. Speer (1950).

CONTRIBUTORS

Members of the Society are already familiar with the studies of Edith Rossiter Bevan (Mrs. William F. Bevan) in the fields of social, domestic, and architectural history of Maryland. In this issue she presents the fruits of her long investigations of garden practice and taste in Maryland. ☆ Also a contributor previously to the pages of the *Magazine*, Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland is Secretary of the Ark and the Dove Society of Maryland, and a member of the staff of the Society. ☆ A member of the Council of the Society since 1941, Rosamond Randall Beirne (Mrs. Francis F. Beirne) is Maryland Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, and is deeply interested in the history of our state. ☆ Charles E. Peterson is the author of various monographs in American history. He was formerly Regional Architect of the National Park Service, Middle Atlantic Area, with supervision over the restoration of Hampton, when it became a national historic site, and is now Regional Architect for the Independence Hall National Monument, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933,

Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore 1, Maryland, for October, 1948.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Foster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore 1, Md. Editor, James W. Foster, same. Managing Editor, same. Business Manager, same.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1
(non-profit cultural, educational and historical institution)
George L. Radcliffe, President.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security stockholders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JAMES W. FOSTER,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1950.

MARIE M. PATTEN,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires May 7, 1951.) [SEAL]

THE INDEX TO THE 1950 MAGAZINE

The Index to Volume XLV (the year 1950) of the Maryland Historical Magazine is omitted from this, the concluding issue of the volume. It will be published as a separate pamphlet and mailed gratis to any member or subscriber who may request it, provided such request is received before January 15. It will be sent, without the necessity of a request, to all exchanges and institutional subscribers.

This move has been necessitated by the constantly advancing costs of printing and paper. It will continue in effect unless notice to the contrary is given.

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